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ABSTRACT

This report investigates the effects of diversity on governance by examining the supply and demand for minorities trained in public policy analysis and management and international affairs specialties at the federal level. The data were obtained from various U.S. Government published reports. Topics covered concerning the supply side include: college participation rates; enrollment trends in graduate professional programs in public policy and international affairs analysis and management; and diversity initiatives in higher education. Among topics covered concerning the demand side are: foundation support for public policy and international affairs; federal programs in international affairs; diversity in the federal civilian workforce; diversity at the professional level; trends in achieving equal employment opportunity; minority recruitment; diversity and international affairs; diversity in management intern programs, and diversity within a variety of specific U.S. Government departments and agencies. The difficulty of achieving diversity is addressed in sections on the scope and findings of key federal studies; successful strategies in promoting diversity; and the need for diversity at the Cabinet level. The final section evaluates the outlook to the year 2000. The appendix contains numerous charts and tables detailing findings on these issues. (Contains 81 endnotes and a bibliography of 21 references.) (JB)

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Diversity in Governance: A Status Report

Allan E. Goodman

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Diversity in Governance: A Status Report

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Dedicated to the memory of
U.S. Secretary of Commerce Ronald H. Brown,
a public servant who exemplified
the benefits of diversity in governance.

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Foreword

Ever since Frederick Douglass was appointed Recorder of Deeds in 1881, and later named Minister to Haiti in 1889, minorities have struggled with the vicissitudes of employment by their federal government. Since that time, the minority population has burgeoned; by the mid-21st century, the word "minority" may become obsolete. Yet, despite having attained their highest employment levels in history, minorities have yet to achieve parity in representation in the federal government's management and supervisory ranks.

Allan Goodman has written a timely and thorough report of the attempts by minorities, and by the government, to achieve equality of representation among people of color in the federal service. Given the urgency of population trends and the necessity of preparing for an increasingly multicultural world, the data reported here could not be more propitious.

Goodman chronicles the various devices employed by the federal government in its attempt to increase minority representation: laws, changes in agency regulations, and the commissioning of studies of impediments. For example, the Civil Service Reform Act of 1978 requires government agencies to recruit women and minorities for civil service jobs in which they are underrepresented. In addition, the Federal Glass Ceiling Commission report found organizational biases that prevented qualified minority individuals from advancing in their agencies.

Yet, despite these measures, Goodman notes a pervasive mindset that "will require fundamental attitudinal changes in the bureaucratic cultures of most departments and agencies toward embracing and encouraging a more diverse workforce." This is reflected in the fact that, despite laws and regulations designed to promote minority participation, the presence of minorities in the federal workforce between 1983 and 1993 increased by only about 1 percent.

Part of this stagnation can be attributed to downsizing in the federal workforce. But a substantial portion undoubtedly is due to the bureaucratic nature of most agencies, the lack of mentoring and training for upward mobility, the absence of monitoring of progress toward meeting goals, and the recalcitrance of managers to seek out and promote women and minorities.

Indeed, some agencies are conspicuous in their underrepresentation of minorities: the American Battle Monuments Commission, the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, and the Farm Credit Administration. These agencies apparently have not been held accountable for their lack of recruitment and promotion.

Moreover, these impediments are compounded by increasing conservativism in the state legislatures, the Congress, and the Supreme Court. Thirteen states currently are considering various bills and resolutions against affirmative action; Representative Charles Canaday and Senator Robert Dole have introduced a bill that would severely restrict affirmative action; and the Supreme Court recently issued the *Adarand* decision, and the Circuit Courts, the *Podberesky* and the *Hopwood* decisions, which, if upheld, would seriously restrict the ability of federal agencies to reach out to women and minorities.

Thus, while Allan Goodman delineates in this excellent study what still needs to be done to increase minority representation in federal agencies, what will most determine what the immediate future will hold lies more in the realm of politics than policy.

Reginald Wilson, Ph.D.
Senior Scholar
American Council on Education

Executive Summary

Demographic changes of considerable magnitude are ahead in American society.

- By the year 2000, African Americans, Hispanics, Asian Americans, and Native Americans will constitute nearly a third of the U.S. population and more than 40 percent of the labor force.

- By 2020, persons of color will account for more than 40 percent of the U.S. population.

- By 2050, non-Hispanic whites will account for only half (at the most) of the total U.S. population.

Consequently, as part of its strategy for achieving equal employment opportunity, the U.S. government has long recognized that in a multicultural society and an interdependent world, a diverse workforce is a critical factor. In a period in which affirmative action policies are coming under close scrutiny, the basic premise that diversity is essential for effective governance is also under challenge. This status report examines the supply of and the demand for persons of color trained in public policy analysis and management and international affairs specialties at the federal level.

The representation of minorities in the federal government has increased steadily—from 23 percent in 1983 to 28 percent in 1993—and continues to run about 5 percentage points ahead of the civilian labor force. Persons of color now account for a third of all new hires. Nevertheless, many departments and agencies have yet to achieve adequate levels of diversity at the professional level—i.e., white-collar occupational positions requiring advanced education and involving management responsibilities—to effectively represent minority issues and outlooks. For example, the largest single employer of minorities in the government, the Department of Defense (DOD), accounts for 42.7 percent of all federal civilian workers. Minorities accounted for 26.2 percent of this workforce, but for only 9.6 percent of professional positions in 1993. In fact, over the preceding five years, the number of persons of color within the Defense Department's professional workforce actually decreased by nearly 6 percent.

At the Departments of Health and Human Services (HHS), Treasury, and Veterans Affairs, which together account for another 26.4 percent of all federal employees, minorities also are employed in large numbers. In contrast to DOD, persons of color make up nearly a third of each of these departments' professional workforce. The proportion of minority professionals at HHS has more than doubled its representation in this segment of the workforce over the last five years. This is due partly to the tendency of minorities to attain graduate degrees in HHS-related fields and to think of HHS as the government agency that offers them the most opportunities for advancement. HHS also has made a concerted effort to recruit under-represented groups and to link managers' career advancement directly to the achievement of equal employment opportunity goals.

However, for the government as a whole, between 1983 and 1993, African Americans, Hispanics, Asian Americans, and Native Americans increased their representation in all federal pay grades at the professional level—the major source of senior federal managers and executives—by just 1.9, 1.0, 2.1, and 0.4 percent, respectively. At senior pay levels (GS-13–15 and SES), the increases for African Americans, Hispanics, Asian Americans, and Native Americans over the decade were also quite small, amounting to 1.5, 0.9, 1.9, and 0.1 percent, respectively.

The disparity between affirmative employment goals and more uniform accomplishments is a function of trends in both supply and demand.

For nearly 20 years, federal and private sector studies pointed to the lack of minorities qualified for professional positions in the federal service. However, the participation of minorities in the nation's education system, and especially in programs designed to prepare persons for careers in government service, has changed that situation.

- The number of minorities enrolled in higher education has increased by more than 1 million over the past decade; minorities now account for 22 percent of total enrollment (up from 16 percent in 1982).

■ Public policy and international affairs now rank among the top professional fields in which minority students pursue advanced degrees.

■ Beginning in 1980, initiatives funded by the Ford, Reed, Rockefeller, and Sloan foundations, in partnership with U.S. schools of public policy and international affairs, have resulted in more than 2,000 persons of color graduating with master's degrees in public policy and international affairs; these individuals are now pursuing careers in governance at the federal, state, and local levels. In the 1990s, several federal departments also have created and funded their own minority advancement programs based on these independent sector diversity initiatives.

The demand for equal employment opportunity in the federal service has increased steadily. Minority representation is at an all-time high.

■ The number of African Americans, Hispanics, Asian Americans, and Native Americans in white-collar occupations increased by 33 percent, from 304,449 in 1983 to 403,810 by the end of fiscal year 1993.

■ African Americans now account for a higher proportion of the federal workforce than of the civilian labor force (16.8 percent versus 10.5 percent); the same is true for Asian Americans (3.6 percent versus 2.9 percent) and Native Americans (1.7 percent versus 0.7 percent). Hispanics, however, account for 5.6 percent of the federal workforce, compared to 9 percent of the civilian labor force.

■ Changes in the recruitment patterns of federal agencies increasingly have tended to emphasize methods that result in higher proportions of minorities being selected. Studies of the results of such recruitment practices also indicate that persons of color perform at levels of quality fully comparable to those of their white counterparts. This finding nullifies federal managers' initial concern over a possible decline in quality occurring as agencies stressed affirmative action goals and relied less on centralized recruiting and selection methods.

At present, the federal civil service is downsizing dramatically in defense and security areas and is specializing by attracting more highly educated entrants to the career service. Approximately 70,000 fewer people work for the federal government today than did at the start of the decade; another 175,000 positions will be eliminated as part of the Clinton administration's goal of "reinventing government" by increasing the operational efficiency of those who remain.

In pledging to appoint persons to cabinet and other key policy-making positions so that the U.S. government "would look more like America," the Clinton administration "has made the strongest commitment to diversity that we have seen in over a decade," according to the chairman of the Merit Systems Protection Board.[1] As of the end of fiscal year 1993, an unprecedented 24.8 percent of all presidential appointees were persons of color.

But in most federal departments, minorities still work primarily in clerical and other low-level positions, where they are unlikely to have management responsibility or to make substantive contributions to policy development. According to the Office of Personnel Management (OPM), as the government downsized, to be a person of color in the federal workforce meant being twice as likely to be subject to a reduction-in-force action and at least ten times less likely to be promoted. In 1993, minorities were paid an average of $5,000 less than white federal professionals. And when OPM analyzed Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) and Bureau of Labor Statistics data and projected trends in minority representation in professional and administrative positions at the GS-14 and GS-15 and SES levels (compared to similar levels of responsibility in the civilian labor force), it found that the U.S. government was falling behind the private sector.[2] For African Americans, a gap of 5 percentage points is projected to continue into the next century, and for Hispanics, the gap is 7 points. For Asian Americans, the gap is only 1 point, and for Native Americans, it is less than 1 point. Thus, as virtually every U.S. government report on affirmative action notes, the nation is far from the goal of achieving governance by a professional workforce that reflects the nation's diversity.

Since 1990, studies conducted by federal research organizations charged with reviewing government-wide compliance with equal employment opportunity laws have begun to identify and track strategies to increase minority recruitment, retention, and advancement. The most promising techniques appear to be those developed over the past five years by the Departments of Agriculture, Health and Human Services, and Veterans Affairs and by the specialized career services within the Foreign Service, the intelligence community, and selected research centers maintained by the Department of Energy and NASA. Such "best practices" include:

■ mandating the advancement of minorities via internal recruitment for a fixed portion of all departmental administrative and professional openings;

■ forging links with historically black colleges and universities (HBCUs), as well as with Hispanic American colleges and universities (HACUs), and targeting cooperative education and summer internship programs at students attending such institutions;

■ awarding agency-funded scholarships and fellowships with the explicit goal of attracting more minorities into federal service; and

■ developing mentoring relationships with colleges (via officer-in-residence programs) to promote curriculum changes that would enhance the success of minorities in competing for entry into and advancement within the federal civilian executive workforce.

The results of such programs and initiatives to date suggest that genuine progress requires a concerted effort to go beyond affirmative action recruitment objectives and to mentor and equip minorities for advancement within the ranks of civil service professionals. Federal officials also need to be better prepared to manage a diverse working environment and, in particular, to identify the ways in which professional development networks and other aspects of bureaucratic culture can be broadened to ensure the active participation of minorities. As this report demonstrates, unless there are fundamental attitudinal changes and much greater actual advancement results for minorities within the federal civilian workforce at the professional level, government in America's third century promises to look less—not more—like the nation as a whole.

DIVERSITY IN GOVERNANCE: A STATUS REPORT

I want to be able to take special pride in a Jessye Norman aria, a Muhammad Ali shuffle, a Michael Jordan slam dunk, a Spike Lee movie, a Thurgood Marshall opinion, a Toni Morrison novel.... Even so, I rebel at the notion that I can't be part of other groups, that I can't construct identities through elective affinity, that race must be the most important thing about me.... So I'm divided. I want to be black, to know black, to luxuriate in whatever I might be calling blackness at any particular time—but to do so in order to come out the other side, to experience a humanity that is neither colorless nor reducible to color.

—Gates, Henry Louis, Jr., *Colored People: A Memoir*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1994.

The "American dilemma"—that despite a credo with the central tenet of equality, racism persists—continues to confound efforts to govern an increasingly diverse society and to recruit a corps of public service professionals that reflects such diversity. Until relatively recently, minorities persistently have failed to achieve positions of influence in national governance; they remain underrepresented at the professional level in the career civil service. By the year 2000, according to most demographic projections, persons of color will constitute nearly a third of the U.S. population and more than 40 percent of the labor force. For some states (e.g., California) and some regions (e.g., the Southwest and the Northeast), minorities could account for more than 50 percent of the civilian labor force; nationally, minorities currently account for some 23 percent of the civilian labor force, and that figure is increasing rapidly. Such demographic changes, coupled with the legal obligation of the federal government to promote equal employment opportunity for traditionally underrepresented categories of persons, have led to the expectation that the nation's civil service should look more like the American population.

However, if present trends continue and doubts about the efficacy and legitimacy of affirmative action programs mount, it is unlikely that minority representation in the federal civilian workforce will increase much beyond the present level. In the past 25 years, moreover, and despite national and local policies specifically aimed at increasing minority representation in government agencies, few accomplishments have been made that demonstrate to persons of color that careers in public policy analysis and management and international affairs specialties promise them either upward mobility or a significant role in shaping policy.

PURPOSE OF THIS REPORT

This report investigates the difference diversity makes to governance by examining the supply and demand for minorities trained in public policy analysis and management and international affairs specialties at the federal level. It is part of a series of studies focusing on the current state and dynamics of supply and demand forces affecting minority access to education and careers in public policy analysis and management and international affairs specialties and the contributions persons of color make to public policy development and the conduct of the nation's foreign relations.[3] Throughout this report and its accompanying data, the definition of "minority" (or "persons of color") is that used by the U.S. Census Bureau: persons belonging to distinct racial groups (American Indians, Alaskan Natives, Asian or Pacific Islanders, blacks having origins in the racial groups of Africa) or persons of Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban, Central or South American, or Spanish origins, regardless of their race, who consider themselves Hispanic.[4] The central theme of these studies of race, public policy, and international affairs is that for a country regarded as the paramount leader in a multicultural world, the United States has yet to embrace its own diversity; continuing failure to do so will have profound consequences for governance.

Diversity and representation matter because American society is changing and growing in ways that will have a significant impact on who is to be governed. By 2020, persons of color will make up nearly 40 percent of the U.S. population. By 2050, non-Hispanic

whites will make up only half (at the most) of the total U.S. population.

- African Americans will have doubled their 1990 population to 62 million (or 16 percent of the total projected U.S. population).

- Hispanics will have quadrupled their population to 88 million (23 percent of the total projected U.S. population).

- Asian Americans will have quintupled their population to 41 million (10 percent of the total projected U.S. population).

- Native Americans will have increased in number to more than 4 million persons (1.1 percent of the total projected U.S. population).

According to Census Bureau forecasts, Hispanics will become the second largest racial/ethnic group in the United States around 2010,[5] more African Americans than non-Hispanic whites will be added to the total population each year after about 2012, and non-Hispanic whites will make up less than half of the U.S. population under the age of 18 by about 2030.[6] These changes are more profound than any in U.S. demographic history and will have substantial consequences not only for who governs whom but for how they do so. While the United States has a history of diversity now marked by numerous events and heritage months and by presidential proclamations recognizing the contributions that persons of color have made to American culture, society, economics, and science, minorities have been largely excluded from national governance, and especially from policy making at the federal level. Consequently, a government that is to "look like America" only a few years from now will require the entry and advancement of minorities into the federal workforce at the professional level at rates substantially higher than those of today.

TRACKING DIVERSITY

The U.S. government reports on diversity in many different ways, at diverse intervals and levels, with considerable time lags. The data sets used here, for example, come from some series that are produced annually but are published only biennially and with one- to two-year time lags in publication. Census Bureau data for Asian Americans' and Native Americans' educational participation and completion rates, however, are not available on an annual basis. Partly because the government does not collect adequate data on Asian Americans and partly because their diversity is what one scholar has called "multi-leveled," persons in this group today increasingly tend to be grouped with those few who are most visible for their outstanding educational attainment and substantial economic and commercial achievements. In some cases, this has resulted in a backlash against programs and educational initiatives that include assistance to and preferences for Asian Americans.[7]

Annual U.S. Department of Education data are approximately two years outdated when they appear. Demographic profiles of the federal workforce from the Office of Personnel Management now are published only for every even-numbered year; the *Annual Report on the Employment of Minorities, Women, and People with Disabilities in the Federal Government*, published by the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, has a lag of nearly three years. The Office of Workforce Information can provide annual aggregate data from the Central Personnel Data File, in contrast, within six months of the end of the fiscal year. But such data do not contain the level of detail used by the EEOC, nor do any sources report employment trends in the intelligence community. Moreover, the U.S. government tends to report data in ways that highlight numerical increases (or decreases) for minority groups from one year to the next, rather than proportional increases (or decreases) over longer periods of time. In this study, data are reported from more than two dozen separate federal and privately compiled sources in order to document trends in both the actual numbers and what they mean in terms of the proportion of federal departments and agencies that are staffed and, more important, managed by minorities.

THE SUPPLY SIDE

College attrition rates continue to be high for all students, but they are most pronounced for African American, Hispanic, and American Indian students, who withdraw from college at higher rates and therefore attain baccalaureate degrees at appreciably lower rates than their white and Asian American peers. Yet, when differences in academic preparation and socioeconomic status are controlled, the retention rates of students in these groups are equal to those of white students.

—Carter, Deborah and Reginald Wilson. *Minorities in Higher Education: Twelfth Annual Status Report.* Washington, DC: American Council on Education, 1994.

Calling what government bureaucrats do a "profession" has meant that preparing to be a civil servant or a foreign service officer increasingly has involved education beyond the bachelor's level. While one out of every three federal employees has a college degree, a third of all persons hired by the federal government for professional and administrative positions in the past decade have entered with master's degrees or some postgraduate training. Advancement in federal service now normally requires training in techniques (especially quantitative) for analyzing the need for and costs and benefits of alternative public policies and government actions required to implement them. The use of the term profession also has encouraged students and professors to think that the civil and foreign services are vocations which should be accorded the same respect—and hence should draw from many of the same talent pools—as law, teaching, and medicine.

Education tailored specifically to the profession of public policy and international affairs has been offered at most American colleges and universities by such disciplines as economics, political science, psychology, and sociology since World War II. Specialized graduate degrees in public policy analysis and management and international affairs specialties are offered by some 32 schools affiliated with the Association for Public Policy Analysis and Management (APPAM) and the Association of Professional Schools of International Affairs (APSIA). While graduates of these schools also find positions in the private sector, often in capacities that involve managing relations with government organizations here and abroad or dealing with the outcomes of public policy decisions, most enter them with a view to serving in government. Persons of color make up approximately 20 percent of the student body at these schools. A decade ago, the proportion was less than half that. Until very recently, for most minorities, education leading to careers in public policy and international affairs was neither readily available nor widely recognized as a means for advancement. Traditionally, those receiving support for education beyond the college level were advised to seek degrees that would equip them for the ministry, law, teaching, and, for a very few, science and medicine. The federal government and the training that would prepare one for a career in it were widely perceived as indifferent, if not hostile, to the minorities who sought to become federal service professionals. Government officials, in turn, explained the absence of diversity by the fact that so few persons of color had the education required either for entry or advancement.

COLLEGE PARTICIPATION RATES

The pipeline of minorities into careers in public policy analysis and management, by whatever educational or disciplinary route, is exceedingly small and easily blocked. Minorities currently make up 22 percent of the 14 million U.S. citizens enrolled in all American institutions of higher education; a decade ago, this figure was 16 percent. All groups registered substantial gains in the intervening years, despite the nation's continuing failure to achieve an "acceptable level of success in desegregating its higher education system" in the South.

Even such sizable increases in enrollments, however, do not mean that college was within the reach of most young persons of color. "The proportion of minority students who attend colleges and universities," according to a recent American Council on Education

study, "continued to lag behind the figure for whites. Forty-two percent of white high school graduates ages 18 to 24 attended college in 1993, compared with only 33 percent of blacks of the same age and 36 percent of Hispanics."[9] When comparing high school graduates only, the 1993 college enrollment rate of whites was 63 percent, compared to 47 and 54 percent for African Americans and Hispanics, respectively.[10] At the national level, what such statistics indicate is that the programs designed in the 1960s to increase minority access to higher education and to promote and enforce civil rights generally have been very slow in taking effect and that the need for affirmative action has not yet passed.

Figure 1
Minority Enrollment in Higher Education
1982 and 1992

Minority Group	1982	1992	% Change
Total	2,059,000	3,163,000	53.6
African American	1,101,000	1,393,000	26.5
Hispanic	519,000	954,000	83.8
Asian American	351,000	697,000	98.6
Native American	88,000	119,000	35.2

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics. Trends in Enrollment in Higher Education by Racial/Ethnic Category, Fall 1982 through Fall 1992. *January 1994.*

College enrollees as a proportion of each minority group also reflect the impact of changing circumstances (social as well as economic) on many minority families and their school-age children. Income inequality in America is now greater than at any time in the past 60 years; the income of the top 20 percent of the population is more than 11 times greater than that received by the bottom 20 percent.[11] The end of sustained periods of U.S. economic growth by the early 1980s, the deepening of the recession by mid-decade, and the increasing incidence of one-parent households especially among the minority populations of the inner city have meant that entering and completing school at all levels has become more difficult. The declining ability of most colleges and universities to offer student scholarships (as opposed to loans) and most public institutions' need to raise tuition substantially have meant that education has become much more costly. In sum, "as real income among all but the wealthy stagnates or declines, as federal- and state-funded grant-based aid is reduced compared with loan-based aid, and as higher education's share of most state budgets continues to decline, the likelihood of youths of color from low- to moderate-income families completing a four-year college degree decreases."[12] Consequently, as a proportion of those enrolled and likely to finish, minorities still participate in higher education in very small numbers. While the rates for Asian Americans and Hispanics have doubled, African and Native Americans make up the same proportion of enrollments in higher education in 1992 as they did in 1982. (See Appendix, Chart A.) Over the course of a decade, the proportion of minorities receiving bachelor's and master's degrees increased from 11.2 and 10.5 percent, respectively, to 13.7 and 11.2 percent, respectively. (See Appendix, Chart B.) Only one minority group—Asian Americans—registered substantial increases in the number of degrees they earned. The percentage of degrees conferred to African Americans and Native Americans actually declined, while the increase in the number of Hispanics earning master's degrees was very small.

ENROLLMENT TRENDS IN GRADUATE PROFESSIONAL PROGRAMS IN PUBLIC POLICY AND INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS ANALYSIS AND MANAGEMENT

The current proportions of minorities enrolled in graduate and professional degree programs are 13 and 19 percent, respectively. A decade ago, the proportions were 9 and 10 percent, respectively. When the data are broken down by minority group, the gains are almost entirely accounted for by increases in Asian American participation in such programs. (See Appendix, Charts C and D and Graphs I and II.)

Approximately 5 percent of all master's degrees conferred in the United States over the past decade are in what the Department of Education defines as the field of "public administration and services" (formerly "public affairs and services"). Amounting now to between 18,000 and 19,000 degrees annually, this field includes community services, public administration, management, social work, international public service, transportation, public utilities, materials moving, and clinical social work. The popularity of public affairs master's degrees has increased steadily (see Appendix, Table 1), and these degrees are now among the top degree courses pursued by minorities. The degree course currently ranks third among all related master's and first-professional degrees conferred on minorities in the aggregate. Advanced degrees in education are still the number one choice for African Americans, Hispanics, and Native Americans; the most popular graduate degree among Asian Americans is the MBA.

When the data are expressed as actual numbers of degrees conferred,

as in the table below, it is striking to note how few minorities make it through the educational pipeline at all and how little the numbers have changed over a decade. (See Appendix, Graphs III and IV.)

What the data do not reveal is the difficulty most grant and affirmative action programs have in effectively identifying persons of color, especially those from situations and backgrounds where even the prospect of entering college seems remote. Many minorities have difficulty pursuing graduate studies in public policy and international affairs because they require training (in mathematics, economics, and foreign languages, for example) that must be taken in addition to coursework for many undergraduate majors in such fields as political science, sociology, and history. The colleges some minority students attend may lack the resources to provide such additional training; for other students, the demands of family life and the need to work to pay tuition bills make it impossible to pursue such additional coursework. Government service also is not a primary career goal of many college graduates, according to surveys of the nearly 10,000 graduating seniors at 27 institutions conducted over the past several years for the Consortium on Financing Higher Education. Among members of the class of 1994, for example, government ranked last as a long-term career goal, having been selected by only 6.9 percent of respondents, one-third of whom were persons of color.[13]

Generating a career interest in public policy or international affairs requires reaching individuals well before they enter college and demonstrating to them and their families that training for a career in public service is something that can be financed and that will allow an individual to make a difference on behalf of the community from which he or she has come. Recently, according to federal government recruiters, attracting persons of color to civil service careers increasingly has involved explaining department and agency plans to deal with the problems of persistent bias that have surfaced in class action and racial and gender bias suits filed against such departments and agencies as Defense, State, Justice, Treasury, the CIA, FBI, IRS, and the Immigration and Naturalization Service.[14]

Figure 2
Master's and Professional Degrees Conferred in Public Administration and Related Fields, 1991–1992

Field of Study	African Americans	Hispanics	Asian Americans	Native Americans
Business and Management	3,996	1,994	3,635	220
Law	1,908	1,473	1,250	151
Public Administration and Services	2,001	771	442	124
Social Sciences	602	301	396	50

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, 1994. The national Classification of Instructional Programs treats "public affairs" as a discipline that encompasses degrees in public administration, as well as transportation and material moving. In 1991–1992, the discipline was relabeled "public administration and services" as above. Master's degrees in international affairs usually fall under the data reported under degrees in the social sciences.

While the proportion of minorities in graduate student bodies is small, the actual numbers of degrees conferred indicate that the education system nevertheless is consistently producing an annual pool of well-qualified persons for government service. One-third of all new hires to the federal civilian workforce in 1993, for example, were persons of color; five years ago, this figure was 28 percent. In both years, the rate at which minorities were hired by the federal government was fully 5 percentage points ahead of the rate for the civilian labor force as a whole.

DIVERSITY INITIATIVES IN HIGHER EDUCATION

According to a recent survey conducted by the American Council on Education (ACE), more than 2,000 programs exist to encourage diversity in higher education.[15] Most are aimed at "pipelining" minority high school students into college and, once they are there, increasing the proportion of those who graduate.[16] According to ACE, only approximately 10 percent (192) of all surveyed university, foundation, and government programs address graduate educational opportunity. More than 80 percent of these initiatives are designed to attract minorities into the fields of medicine and science, teaching, engineering, and theology. Only 35 specifically address (or are open to supporting) students planning to pursue careers in public service. The U.S. government and state universities and boards of education sponsor roughly half of these initiatives. Most involve short-term internship opportunities, assistance in the form of career and affirmative action counseling, networking facilitation, and support for conferences and other activities designed to make minority students aware of careers in public policy and international affairs. Of those programs which also provide grant aid, virtually none is able to fund recipients so that they could complete a professional degree without incurring substantial debt.

The inadequacy of direct support for students to pursue advanced degrees (or even bachelor's degrees) reflects the way in which society and its institutions fund diversity initiatives. As the ACE study found, "While ideas for initiatives that are committed to advancing people of color in higher education are born every day, many programmers experience funding problems. Many programs and projects are conceived after current-year budget appropriations have been made; funding for some projects is short-lived because of budgetary constraints; other new programs or projects lack a designated organizational affiliation from which to draw long-term financial support."[1]

FOUNDATION SUPPORT FOR PUBLIC POLICY AND INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Over the past 15 years, it has been private foundations, not the federal government, that have sustained most diversity initiatives. At the graduate level, public policy and international affairs programs have been funded almost exclusively by the Ford, Reed, Rockefeller, and Sloan Foundations. The investment to date amounts to more than $30 million.

Only one independent sector diversity initiative, the Woodrow Wilson Program in Public Policy and International Affairs (PPIA), which began in 1989, and its immediate predecessor, the Sloan Minority Advancement Program, which functioned from 1981 to 1988, involves supporting students preparing for graduate school. The initiative underwrites the costs for intensive summer institutes while students are in college and before they apply for graduate school, and it also provides sufficient scholarship resources for students to complete a master's degree. The aim of the PPIA program is to provide traditionally underrepresented minorities with the skills and opportunity to enter the field of public policy and international affairs. The program targets persons of color in their junior year of college and sponsors six- to eight-week skill-building study institutes and internship programs in the summers between students' junior and senior years and between graduation and entrance into graduate school. The program also assists with applications to graduate school and provides partial tuition grants and full stipend support. The graduate schools that accept PPIA fellows undertake to provide matching scholarships and other forms of grant aid to enable all students to complete an MA or MS degree in public policy or international affairs, a process that typically takes two years.

To date, more than 1,000 persons of color have been awarded Woodrow Wilson Public Policy and International Affairs Fellowships, and approximately 1,000 were awarded Sloan Fellowships. Many fellows have family incomes at or below the poverty level, and a large proportion are the first in their families to attend college. All of the members of the 1989, 1990, 1991, and 1992 "cohorts" have graduated from their colleges. Fellows are dated by the year they were selected for and participated in the Junior Summer Institutes, i.e., a Woodrow Wilson Fellow of the class of 1989 would have graduated from college as a member of the class of 1990 and could have begun graduate school either that fall or have been deferred until 1991. Requests for deferments range between 10 and 30 percent per cohort and appear to be necessitated primarily by students' family circumstances and needs rather than academic difficulties. On average, 70 percent of cohorts for the years 1989 through 1992 have entered graduate school. Most complete two-year master's degrees on time, and many earn academic honors.

According to data collected by the Woodrow Wilson National Fellowship Foundation, the most recent responses to requests for employment data on cohorts for the years 1989 through 1991 indicate that nearly two-thirds of the graduates already are employed by either the federal government or state or local government, or they are employed in community development positions. The most attractive federal departments to PPIA fellows thus far are Education, Labor, and State, as well as the Peace Corps, the General Accounting Office, and the Environmental Protection Agency. These results are particularly striking in light of the tendency of minorities to be attracted to positions in such departments as HHS. Most PPIA alumni currently in the private sector, according to studies done by the Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies, aim to join public service at some point in their career. Again, this finding suggests that a program like PPIA can make a significant difference in a person's thinking about long-term career goals.

FEDERAL PROGRAMS IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Beginning in 1990, the Departments of State and Defense and the Central Intelligence Agency developed programs targeted at increasing minority recruitment to professional positions in international affairs agencies. The Foreign Affairs Fellows (FAF) program at the Department of State is administered by the Woodrow Wilson National Fellowship Foundation and currently supports 31 persons of color from their sophomore year through graduate school who have agreed to apply to become Foreign Service officers.

The annual appropriation for this fellowship program is approximately $1 million. The Department of Commerce currently is considering a similar program to increase minority recruitment generally and especially for the Foreign Commercial Service.

The National Security Education Act of 1991 provides funding for a fellowship program (developed to generate a "peace dividend" in the aftermath of the end of the cold war

Figure 3
U.S. Department of State Foreign Affairs Fellowship Program Participants, 1990–1994, by Race

Categories	African Americans	Hispanics	Asian Americans	Native Americans
Female	9	5	6	0
Male	6	3	2	0
Total	15	8	8	0

Source: Woodrow Wilson National Fellowship Foundation, 13 September 1994

and named in honor of Senator David Boren, a former chairman of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence) to support U.S. college and graduate students in their study of critical languages, cultures, and regions of the world. Selection for fellowships is merit based, with the aim also of recruiting a cohort "reflecting the cultural, geographic, gender, racial, and ethnic diversity of the United States." According to program officials, in the first year of operation of this program at the graduate level, minorities accounted for 19 percent of all applicants (567). Some 168 awards were made, of which 28 (16 percent) were to persons of color. At the undergraduate level, minorities accounted for 27 percent of awards made and 28 percent of the applicant pool (1,812). At the Central Intelligence Agency, an Undergraduate Scholars Program targeted at the recruitment of minorities (and known as the Stokes Scholars Program in honor of the service rendered by Congressman Carl Stokes, a former chairman of the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence) thus far has resulted in 30 out of a total of 149 participants (of whom nearly 90 percent are minorities) entering the career intelligence service. To date, approximately 25 percent of all students who enter the CIA as a result of trainee, co-op and graduate fellows programs are persons of color; retention and advancement rates are considered exemplary.[18]

As this report was being prepared, the U.S. Department of Education launched a new program, the Institute of International Public Policy (authorized by Title VI of the Higher Education Act of 1965, as amended). The aim of the institute, based at Clark Atlanta University, is to fund a multilateral effort of the United Negro College Fund, the Woodrow Wilson National Fellowship Foundation, the Hispanic Association of Colleges and Universities, the American Indian Higher Education Consortium, and the Association of Professional Schools of International Affairs to create a program that significantly increases the number of persons of color in both private and public international service by identifying qualified candidates as early as their sophomore year in college. Current plans call for as many as 200 persons of color to be supported by summer skill-building institutes during their college years, internships and foreign language training opportunities, and graduate fellowships, as well as by mentoring relationships the program will encourage and stimulate.

Like the State Department's FAF program, the institute draws heavily on the experience of the Woodrow Wilson National Fellowship Program in Public Policy and International Affairs in identifying the educational and skill development elements that seem to work best in attracting minorities to pursue relevant degree programs. Small-scale pilot programs of a similar nature have also been established at the Departments of Agriculture and Commerce. Such government programs are under intense budget scrutiny, however, and are unlikely to continue at current funding levels or to reach the numbers of minority students originally targeted.

As this report appears, the future of all federal affirmative action programs is in doubt. Leading members of both parties in both houses of Congress have spoken out in favor of replacing "group affirmative action" and ending preference programs, and some are presently working on "broader legislation to undo decades of affirmative action."[19] The Supreme Court has held that the nation "should tolerate no retreat from the principle that government may treat people differently because of their race only for the most compelling reasons" and has decreed that "all racial classifications, imposed by whatever federal, state, or local government actor, must be analyzed by a reviewing court under strict scrutiny."[20] And state referenda are planned for 1996 that would end systems of awarding jobs and contracts based on race and sex equity issues. These developments—coupled with both declining federal budgets and the shrinking of the federal workforce generally—will almost certainly adversely affect many of the diversity programs in higher education highlighted here. The present atmosphere and growing backlash against affirmative action (recent Gallup polls indicate that as many as two-thirds of American adults may now disapprove of affirmative action programs for minorities) will make it exceedingly difficult for persons of color to conclude that public service will provide them with genuine equal employment opportunity.[21]

THE DEMAND SIDE

When I first tried to get a job here in Washington, I was proud of my law degree and was sure other people would be thrilled to see me. They asked me how fast I could type.... That is not the world we face today. When we look at our federal workforce, we now look more like the face of our country; not exactly like it, yet, but more like it.

—Swift, Evangeline. Welcoming Remarks. "The Changing Face of the Federal Workforce: A Symposium on Diversity," U.S. Merit Systems Protection Board, February 1993.

DIVERSITY IN THE FEDERAL CIVILIAN WORKFORCE

The federal civilian workforce in the executive branch consisted of 2,110,510 full-time employees as of 30 September 1993. (The end of the 1993 fiscal year was the most recent period for which detailed race/national origin data were available from the Central Personnel Data File maintained by the U.S. Office of Personnel Management at the time of this study.) Almost three-quarters of a million fewer persons were employed by the government in fiscal year 1993 than were a decade ago, and an additional 70,000 persons were retired or separated from federal service during 1993. (These figures and this report do not include personnel trends for the uniformed members of the armed services or postal employees.)

By law, the U.S. government is committed to the goal of achieving a workforce that reflects the nation's diversity. In measuring diversity, as well as in setting policies to promote and encourage it, the federal government is concerned primarily with achieving aggregate levels of representation higher than in the civilian labor force. It has done so consistently for every minority group except Hispanics, as the figure below makes clear.

At present, 28 percent of the federal civilian workforce is classified as minority. This figure represents an increase of some 5 percentage points over a ten-year period. Diversity within the civil service has consistently outstripped (by an average of 5 percentage points) the proportion of minorities in the civilian labor force. African Americans, Asian Americans, and Native Americans also account for a larger proportion of the federal workforce than of the total population; according to the latest estimates by the Bureau of the Census, African Americans account for 12 percent of the total population, Asian Americans for 3 percent, and Native Americans for 0.7 percent. Hispanics account for 5.6 percent of the federal workforce, but 10 percent of the total U.S. population.[22]

Figure 4
Minority Representation in the Federal and Civilian Workforces

Minority Group	1983	1988	1993
African American			
Federal	15.7%	16.5%	16.8%
Civilian	10.1%	10.5%	10.5%
Hispanic			
Federal	4.6%	5.1%	5.6%
Civilian	6.4%	8.2%	9.0%
Asian American			
Federal	2.5%	3.1%	3.6%
Civilian	1.9%	2.2%	2.9%
Native American			
Federal	1.2%	1.4%	1.7%
Civilian	0.6%	0.7%	0.7%

Source: U.S. Office of Personnel Management. Federal Equal Opportunity Recruitment Program. Annual Report to Congress Fiscal Year 1993. *January 1994. Table 1, p. 6.*

DIVERSITY AT THE PROFESSIONAL LEVEL

Despite these figures, many departments and agencies have yet to achieve levels of diversity that effectively represent the outlook of minorities as professionals on public policy and international affairs issues. The Office of Personnel Management defines as "professional" those "white-collar occupations that require knowledge in a field of science or learning characteristically acquired through education or training equivalent to a bachelor's or higher degree with major study in or pertinent to the specialized field, as distinguished from general education."[23] For compensation purposes, the General Schedule or "GS" grade level of those holding professional positions in the federal civil service usually begins at the GS-9 or GS-11 level and continues to the top rank of GS-15. "Administrative occupations are those that involve the exercise of analytical ability, judgment, discretion, and personal responsibility, and application of a substantial body of knowledge of principles, concepts, and practices applicable to one or more fields of administration or management. These positions do not require specialized educational majors...."[24] Administrative appointments tend to cluster in the GS-9 to GS-11 ranks. The average pay plan grade for all government employees is at the GS-9 level. Other federal occupational categories are "technical," "clerical," and "other," but none of these involves the recruitment or hiring of persons with college degrees.

The largest single employer in the government—and of minorities—the Department of Defense accounts for 42.7 percent of all federal civilian workers. Minorities make up 26.2 percent of this workforce but only 9.6 percent of positions at the professional level. After Defense, the three largest employers of minorities in the government are the Departments of Health and Human Services, Treasury, and Veterans Affairs. Together, these departments account for another 26.4 percent of all federal employees. Minorities in these departments account for one-third of the professional workforce.

Minorities at the management level in most federal departments and agencies also make up a smaller proportion (by about 3 to 5 percentage points, on average) than in many of the nation's major corporations (see Appendix, Table 2), where diversity is seen as an advantage that often can mean the difference between rising and shrinking market share.[25] As the president of the American Institute for Managing Diversity recently observed, "The motivation for fostering diversity in the past was law or morality. Those reasons are still very important, but today the motivation is bottom line: How can employees manage people from diverse backgrounds in such a way to give their firms a competitive advantage?"[26] For many top companies, in fact, the proportion of minorities who work at the officer and director levels is nearing 25 percent. Persons of color have traditionally accounted for no more than 10 percent of the positions with comparable responsibility in the federal government. When all persons employed as executives and managers in the civilian labor force as a whole are compared with their federal executive branch counterparts, African Americans tend to be slightly better represented in the federal government, but Hispanics, Asian Americans, and Native Americans less so.

All minority groups tend to be better represented at the professional level in state and local governments than they are in the federal government.[27] The most recent data indicate that the overall participation rates for persons of color in such governmental units is 2 to 3 percentage points higher than in the federal workforce.[28] Women and minorities employed by city and state government departments and agencies also seem to be making greater progress in terms of advancing into the professional and managerial ranks.[29]

Other parts of the federal government are faced with even greater challenges to encouraging diversity within their professional ranks. The legislative branch neither collects nor reports data on any systematic or publicly available basis, though the Congressional Management Foundation has conducted recent survey studies of staff diversity. In the 102nd and 103rd Congresses, minorities accounted for approximately 13 percent of Senate and 15 percent of House staff. Only 8 percent of all administrative assistant, legislative director, press secretary, and district office director positions in the House were held by persons of color; in the Senate, the proportion of minorities holding comparable positions was 4.4 percent. Moreover, African Americans earned 93 cents for every dollar earned by white staff members in the House and only 83 cents to the dollar in the Senate; Hispanics earned only 77 cents to the dollar in the House and 75 cents to the dollar in the Senate.[30] The downsizing that has accompanied the election of the 104th Congress is likely to further accentuate these differences.

In the Federal Reserve banking system, which employs more than 25,000 persons, women and minorities are clustered to such an extent in the lowest levels that, according to a recent study, the underrepresentation of these groups "in the 'pipeline' to the official level shows that this pattern of discrimination is unlikely to change in the near future." Presently, of the 128 senior staff members who earn annual salaries of $125,000 or more in the Federal Reserve system, three are minorities and 14 are women.[31] In the judiciary, in contrast, minorities account for 25 percent of the workforce and 28 percent of all persons classified as general professionals. Fewer than 10 percent of all legal professionals and those recently appointed to these positions, however, are persons of color.[32]

Human resources experts in both the public and private sectors consistently note that the retention and advancement of persons of color (as opposed to their recruitment) pose the principal difficulties to achieving a di-

verse workforce at the professional level. U.S. Merit System Protection Board analysts indicate that minorities are being promoted at rates equal to those of their white counterparts, but the widely held perception is that this is not the case, because there still are so few minorities in professional positions at most federal agencies and very few make it to the top ranks in the career services.[34]

WHERE MINORITIES CLUSTER IN THE FEDERAL WORKFORCE

Not surprisingly, minorities have tended to seek employment with federal agencies that have greater diversity within their professional ranks and that focus on issues of direct relevance to minority communities. While today's federal workforce is more diverse than the civilian labor force as a whole, this is a very recent phenomenon. Minorities also have tended to be employed in the lower grades of the civil service. (See Appendix, Graph V.) When downsizing occurs, minorities are among the first to be separated and released from employment. During fiscal year 1992, the U.S. Office of Personnel Management reported that minority civil servants were "riffed" at the rate of about 10 per thousand, whereas the rate for white workers was 3.7 per thousand; the difference is attributed to seniority and the grade levels of workers.[35] Despite the work of numerous federal task forces charged with studying diversity, mobility, and other problems in achieving a more representative civil service, few in the federal personnel system think the fundamental patterns will change greatly over the rest of the decade without considerable effort and top- as well as mid-management attention and pressure. As one participant in a 1993 symposium on how to increase and manage diversity observed, "You have to prod the system to get there. ...Otherwise, we are going to be sitting here, one decade later, defining and talking about the differentiations and the fact that we still do not have minorities and disabled individuals and women in senior-level positions."[36]

The challenge is formidable. Data from the Office of Personnel Management show that between 1989 and 1992, the number of African American women as a proportion of the civil service increased by 0.3 percent, the number of African American men declined by 0.2 percent; the proportions of Hispanic women and men increased by only 0.2 and 0.1 percent, respectively; the proportions of Asian American women and men increased by 0.2 and 0.1 percent, respectively; and the proportion of Native American women increased by 0.1 percent while the proportion of Native American men remained unchanged.[37]

TRENDS IN ACHIEVING EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY

The Civil Service Reform Act of 1978 requires each government agency "to conduct a program to recruit women and minorities from within and outside the federal government for federal civil service job categories where they are underrepresented, as compared to their numbers in the overall workforce."[38] Both the law and individual agency mandates also call for increasing diversity at the higher levels of the civil service and for shattering the "invisible sets of barriers in the workplace that prevent qualified women and minorities from advancing to organizational leadership positions."[39] Between 1983 and 1993, though their actual numbers were increasing substantially (see Appendix, Graphs VI–IX), African Americans, Hispanics, Asian Americans, and Native Americans increased their representation in all the federal pay grades at the professional level (the major source of senior federal managers and executives)[40] by only 1.9, 1.0, 2.1, and 0.4 percent, respectively.[40] (Table 3 in the Appendix compares minority representation in 1988 and 1993 at the professional level in the 14 cabinet departments by race/national origin and gender.) Such representation has actually declined statistically for all minority groups in some departments such as Defense and Housing and Urban Development.

At senior pay levels (GS-13–15 and SES), the increases over a five-year period for African Americans, Hispanics, Asian Americans, and Native Americans government-wide amounted to 1.5, 0.9, 1.9, and 0.1 percent, respectively. As Table 4 in the Appendix indicates, there have been declines in the representation of minorities at senior management levels in some cabinet departments; where there have been increases, rarely have they amounted to more than 1 percentage point. In addition, the average white-collar GS level of whites (9.6) remained 2 grades higher than for African Americans (7.6), 1.3 grades higher than for Hispanics (8.3), and 2.2 grades higher than for Native Americans (7.4) from fiscal year 1982 through fiscal year 1993. The gap between average white-collar grade levels for whites and Asian Americans (9.2), however, nearly closed.[41] When OPM analyzed EEOC and Bureau of Labor Statistics data and projected trends in the representation of minorities in professional and administrative positions at the GS-14 and GS-15 and SES levels compared to similar levels of responsibility in the civilian labor force, the data revealed that the U.S. government was, in fact, falling behind the private sector. For African Americans, a gap of 5 percentage points is projected to continue into the next century, and for Hispanics, the gap is 7 percentage points. For Asian Americans, the gap is only 1 percentage point, and it is less than 1 percentage point for Native Americans.[42]

In the 62 departments and agencies with 500 or more employees that report affirmative action data to OPM and the EEOC, minorities often remained underrepresented compared to the civilian labor force, though the extent

of such underrepresentation is slowly declining.

MINORITY RECRUITMENT

Partly as a response to the widespread underrepresentation of minorities in federal departments and agencies, the government has made a major effort to increase its recruitment of minorities into the civil service and to target them for positions in agencies where they are underrepresented. In fiscal year 1993, the proportion of new entrants into the federal civilian workforce that was African American equaled 19.4 percent; the figures for Hispanics, Asian Americans, and Native Americans were 6.1, 4.9, and 1.7 percent, respectively.

Every year, some programs attain notable success in increasing the number of minorities hired for entry-level positions. By creating special intern and student employment programs, for example, in fiscal years 1992 and 1993, several Department of Defense components, the EPA, the FCC, the Pension Benefits Guaranty Corporation, and the Departments of Energy, Health and Human Services, Transportation, and Veterans Affairs all merited mention by the Office of Personnel Management for "best practices" in attracting and advancing minorities. But the total yield of the efforts reported over a two-year period resulted in the hiring of fewer than 100 persons of color for professional and senior-level appointments.[43]

The trends highlighted above indicate both progress toward diversity and the magnitude of the effort still required to achieve it. Retaining persons of color is also likely to prove far more difficult than recruiting them. And advancement will require a higher degree of commitment to affirmative action than most administrations heretofore have made. It also will require fundamental attitudinal changes in the bureaucratic cultures of most departments and agencies toward embracing and encouraging a more diverse workforce. "As long as EEO annual reporting requirements are seen by federal managers as driving the process and EEO officers are the primary advocates for diversity," said one deputy cabinet secretary interviewed for this study, "federal managers will tend not to identify their individual and organizational success with the ability to recruit, retain, and promote persons of color in their units."[44]

DIVERSITY AND INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Persons of color have a special contribution to make in a period when the advancement of America's domestic and international interests is closely linked. Indeed, minorities today may be even more qualified than their white counterparts to frame policy on such issues as migration, health, competitiveness with developing countries, and the types of community development programs that are most cost effective in nation-building. There is a growing concern, consequently, among top-level managers and, recently, among political appointees in federal foreign affairs agencies about the lack of diversity in the international affairs officer corps and workforce. Given the end of the cold war and the need for American interests to be represented more effectively in and to Asian, African, and Hispanic cultures, the problem in staffing U.S. embassies and other foreign affairs agencies operating abroad has now become acute.[45] Compared to other government agencies, the U.S. Foreign Service and the other elements involved in the formulation and conduct of foreign policy traditionally have been staffed and managed by highly educated members of an establishment that has been largely white, male, and self-selecting. For most of this century, the educational requirements for foreign service meant that applicants had to have the foreign area exposure and language skills that were available only to those coming from Ivy League and other prestigious colleges and universities. The secrecy associated with foreign affairs work, moreover, meant that who was in the service and what they did was known and reviewed by a narrowly based network of senior appointed and elected officials, an elite group of decision makers that until this decade included almost no persons of color.

The Foreign Service Act of 1980 mandated the development and vigorous pursuit of minority recruitment and advancement programs because the law called for the nation's career diplomatic corps "to be representative of the American people."[46] But the representation of minorities (who held 637 foreign service generalist positions in 1993 versus 610 in 1989, out of a total generalist corps of 4,347 in 1989 and 4,240 at the end of 1993) has changed little, as the figure above indicates.

MINORITIES AND MANAGEMENT AT THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE

At the senior level of the Foreign Service, minorities hold 6 percent of all appointments (for a total of 45 positions out of 754); at the end of fiscal year 1993, there were no Hispanic females or Native Americans in the senior Foreign Service and only two Asian Americans. Of 161 chiefs of mission at post or appointed by the end of 1993, 14 (9 percent) were persons of color; of 134 deputy chief of mission billets, 16 (12 percent) were held by minorities.[47] At the Agency for International Development, where the combined civil and foreign service workforce totaled 3,200 persons at the end of fiscal year 1993, minorities held 45 fewer positions than in 1992 and accounted for one-third of the total agency-wide reduction in force that took place between fiscal years 1992 and 1993.

Throughout the 1980s and continuing into this decade, minority entry into the career Foreign Service has ranged from 10 to 12 percent. In 1993, for example, 17 minorities entered the Foreign Service (out of a total intake of 139); the figures for 1991 and 1992 were 29 (out of 252) and 59 (out

Figure 5

Underrepresentation of Minorities in Federal Departments and Agencies as of 30 September 1993

Minority Group	Departments and Agencies Where Workforce Contains Proportions of Minority Group Smaller than in the Civilian Labor Force
African Americans	**Departments:** Agriculture; Interior; Transportation **Agencies:** American Battle Monuments Commission; Farm Credit Administration; National Aeronautics and Space Administration
Hispanics	**Departments:** Agriculture; Commerce; Defense; Education; Energy; Health and Human Services; Housing and Urban Development; Interior; Labor; State; Transportation; Treasury; Veterans Affairs **Agencies:** American Battle Monuments Commission; Arms Control and Disarmament Agency; Action; Agency for International Development; Commodities Futures Trading Commission; Consumer Product Safety Commission; Environmental Protection Agency; Export-Import Bank; Farm Credit Administration; Federal Communications Commission; Federal Emergency Management Agency; Federal Labor Relations Authority; Federal Maritime Commission; Federal Trade Commission; General Services Administration; Interstate Commerce Commission; International Trade Commission; National Endowment for the Arts; National Aeronautics and Space Administration; National Endowment for the Humanities; National Labor Relations Board; National Mediation Board; National Science Foundation; National Transportation Safety Board; Occupational Safety and Health Administration; Office of Personnel Management; Pension Benefit Guarantee Corporation; Securities and Exchange Commission; Selective Service System; Small Business Administration; U.S. Information Agency
Asian Americans	**Departments:** Agriculture; Defense; Education; Health and Human Services; Housing and Urban Development; Interior; Justice; Labor; Transportation; Treasury **Agencies:** American Battle Monuments Commission; Action; Consumer Product Safety Commission; Equal Employment Opportunity Commission; Farm Credit Administration; Federal Communications Commission; Federal Emergency Management Agency; Federal Maritime Commission; Federal Trade Commission; Interstate Commerce Commission; National Endowment for the Arts; National Labor Relations Board; National Mediation Board; National Science Foundation; National Transportation Safety Board; Occupational Safety and Health Administration; Office of Personnel Management; Small Business Administration
Native Americans	**Departments:** Commerce; Defense; Justice; Labor; State; Transportation **Agencies:** American Battle Monuments Commission; Action; Commodities Futures Trading Commission; Consumer Product Safety Commission; Environmental Protection Agency; Export-Import Bank; Federal Communications Commission; Federal Emergency Management Agency; Federal Labor Relations Authority; Federal Maritime Commission; Federal Trade Commission; Interstate Commerce Commission; International Trade Commission; National Aeronautics and Space Administration; National Credit Union Administration; National Endowment for the Arts; National Endowment for the Humanities; National Labor Relations Board; National Mediation Board; National Science Foundation; National Transportation Safety Board; Occupational Safety and Health Administration; Office of Personnel Management; Pension Benefits Guarantee Corporation; Securities and Exchange Commission; Selective Service System; Small Business Administration; U.S. Information Agency

Source: United States Office of Personnel Management. Federal Equal Opportunity Recruitment Program, Fiscal Year 1993. *January 1994, Table 15.*

Figure 6
Minority Representation in the Career Foreign Service

Race/Ethnicity	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993
African American					
Male (5%)	3.5%	3.5%	3.4%	3.2%	3.1%
Female (2%)	2.0%	2.1%	2.0%	2.1%	2.1%
Hispanic					
Male (3.1%)	3.1%	3.2%	3.2%	3.3%	3.3%
Female (.8%)	0.8%	0.9%	0.9%	0.9%	0.9%
Asian American					
Male (1.6%)	1.6%	1.6%	1.8%	1.8%	2.0%
Female (.8%)	0.8%	0.8%	0.8%	0.8%	0.9%
Native American					
Male (.5%)	0.3%	0.3%	0.3%	0.2%	.02%
Female (.5%)	0.1%	0.1%	0.2%	0.2%	0.1%

[Benchmark used by the Department of State: Percentage of 1990 CLF Categorized as Public Administrators and Officials]

Source: U.S. Department of State. Affirmative Employment Program Accomplishments Report, Fiscal Year 1993.

of 207), respectively. Are minorities unqualified for the Foreign Service? The results of recent Foreign Service entrance examinations indicate both that increasing numbers of minorities are registering to take the test (2,138 in 1993 versus 1,802 in 1992) and that the number passing is increasing (214 in 1993 versus 147 in 1992).[48] Once in the Foreign Service, however, minorities tend to feel that prospects for advancement are poor.

The House Foreign Affairs Committee hearings explored why this might be the case in the late 1980s. Three minority officers testified that they consistently were passed over for promotion and described the larger issues at stake. One concluded that "Equal employment opportunity problems of blacks and other minorities are viewed by senior management as having little significance except for the periodic scrutiny of the Congress."[49] Another noted that despite receiving the department's Meritorious Honor Award, a USIA Director's Award for Creativity, and the department's Superior Honor Award, "In 22 years in the Foreign Service, I was promoted once. I believe that there is a serious problem of racism...in recruitment, in assignments and counseling, in task assignments, in evaluation, and in [the] promotion of all minorities."[50] A third officer who testified entered the service through the Mid-Level Hiring Program, which was designed to increase the representation of women and minority officers. Although he had excellent credentials and had received numerous commendations, the officer concluded "Equality of opportunity...is an illusion. Once in the department for a few months, it quickly becomes self-evident that despite the sincerity of the secretary to see change, and despite all of the policies that have been crafted to open up the service to minorities, the change has been minuscule."[51]

What seems to be lacking is not success in getting persons of color to apply for the Foreign Service, but changes in attitude within the officer corps with regard to implementing equal employment opportunity mandates in the area of promotion and advancement. Numerous internal studies, as well as materials prepared in connection with class action and civil rights suits, suggest that promotion boards and evaluation report writers do not yet think that EEO is a valid departmental or foreign policy objective or that the service will decline in effectiveness unless it recognizes the benefits that diversity brings to diplomacy abroad and credibility at home. Consequently, changing the culture of the U.S. Foreign Service itself may be prerequisite to ensuring that any of the department's diversity initiatives will have the effect of changing the face of those who represent American values abroad.[52]

DIVERSITY AND THE UNITED STATES INFORMATION AGENCY

The combined civilian and foreign service workforce at USIA totals more than 4,500 persons. In aggregate terms, nearly one-quarter (23 percent) of this workforce is African American, 5 percent is Hispanic, and 6 percent is Asian American. The 11 Native Americans in the agency account for just 0.2 percent of the workforce. Most minorities are clustered in the entry levels of the civil service and account for 80 percent of the GS-5–7 workforce. In contrast, persons of color combined account for approximately 16 percent of positions in the agency's Senior Executive Service, and 21 percent of those at the GS-13–15 levels. Of the nearly 1,100 foreign service positions, minorities account for between 11 and 12 percent of those persons in either generalist or specialist positions. A recent agency study, moreover, found that the number of African American males in the senior Foreign Service grades is rapidly diminishing, and no new recruits are entering the pipeline.

DIVERSITY AND THE FOREIGN COMMERCIAL SERVICE

The Department of Commerce's Foreign Commercial Service (FCS) officer corps consists of slightly more

than 200 persons. In 1993, slightly less than 10 percent were minorities, of which 2.4 percent were African American, 2.9 percent Hispanic, and 3.9 percent Asian American. There are no Native Americans in this organization, which is designed to promote and facilitate American business abroad. Three of 22 officers in the Senior Executive Service of the FCS are persons of color. African Americans also account for 2 percent of the top two professional grades, while Hispanics and Asian Americans account for 4 percent each.

DIVERSITY AND THE FOREIGN AGRICULTURAL SERVICE

Nearly 800 persons work in that part of the Department of Agriculture involved in developing and expanding foreign markets for U.S. food and other agricultural products. Of this number, 23 percent are African American; other minority groups make up approximately 7 percent. Due to downsizing, the number and proportion of all minority groups have been decreasing. Forty-four percent of those in the service are classified "professionals"; African Americans, Hispanics, Asian Americans, and Native Americans make up 6.9, 1.5, 2.7, and 0.6 percent of this portion of the workforce, respectively. Two out of a total of 30 persons in the service's SES are minorities, as are 10 percent of those persons in grades 13 through 15. No minorities were hired for professional positions in the Service during fiscal year 1993, although the service did increase by more than 10 percent the number of graduate students of color in its Cooperative Education Program. The program enables students to earn degrees in agricultural and international economics and in agricultural marketing and to work as co-ops in the service.

DIVERSITY IN THE INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY

The intelligence community consists of 15 agencies, bureaus, and staffs that employ an estimated 100,000 persons. A majority of these personnel are employed by the National Security Agency (NSA) and other components of the Department of Defense. At NSA, minorities account for 11 percent of the workforce and just a handful of those in top management positions. Increasing diversity in this workforce—especially at the top levels—will take many years; "NSA has not identified systemic problems and barriers faced by women and minorities in recruitment, hiring, promotion, or career development."[53] Similar problems and minimal diversity at professional and management levels also exist in other components of the intelligence community agencies;[54] as one official at CIA's Directorate of Operations noted, "The amazing thing is that our agents in Africa are still largely white males, while in Latin America, we have very few Hispanics."[55] And the director of central intelligence recently concluded that after taking a "hard look at implementation of the recommendations to eliminate the barriers to advancement identified in CIA's 1991 Glass Ceiling Study...the report card is mixed. While there have been important gains in areas such as greater openness of key personnel processes, minorities are still underrepresented in the agency workforce, and the advancement of women and minorities is still limited...."[56]

Persons of color account for 13 percent of the workforce of the intelligence community as a whole; 10 percent are African Americans, 1.5 percent are Hispanics, 1 percent are Asian Americans, and less than 1 percent are Native Americans. At top management levels, minorities account for between 4 and 5 percent of the Senior Intelligence Service (the SIS is equivalent to the SES) and between 5 and 6 percent in grades GS-13 through 15.[57]

MANAGEMENT INTERN PROGRAMS

The Presidential Management Internship (PMI) Program is another key point of entry for students with graduate degrees in public policy and international affairs. Candidates are nominated by their graduate schools, screened by OPM selection committees, and then are available for agency hire in a program which may involve

Figure 7
Minority Representation in the Presidential Management Internship Program Year

Race/Ethnicity	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993
Total Minorities	11.4%	10.6%	13.4%	10%	11%	15%
African American	5.7%	6.3%	8.1%	n/a	n/a	n/a
Hispanic	3.7%	2.6%	3.1%	n/a	n/a	n/a
Asian American	2.0%	1.7%	1.9%	n/a	n/a	n/a
Native American	0.0%	0.0%	0.2%	n/a	n/a	n/a
Total Number of Presidential Management Interns	353	383	422	245	220	178

Source: Career Development Programs, Office of Training and Operations, U.S. Office of Personnel Management, 1994. OMB guidelines prevented the collection of detailed race/national origin data on minorities for some selection years.

one or more rotational assignments in different bureaus and offices. At the end of the internship period, the candidates return to their home department or agency, convert to the career civil service, and usually receive a promotion from GS-9 to GS-12. For most of the 1980s, the program brought some 350 to 400 persons with advanced degrees into government service annually; in the years 1991 through 1994, the entering classes declined to 245, 220, 178, and 170, respectively. The proportion of minorities in each class generally has risen, as the table on the previous page indicates. But government downsizing has dramatically reduced the number of PMI positions available. Coupled with a 50 percent reduction of staff in the PMI program office, these negative trends mean that the program is unlikely to continue to be a major vehicle through which minorities enter federal careers.

IN SUM

For several years, top-level cabinet and agency officials have recognized that increasing diversity could enhance the representation of America abroad and the understanding of how best to operate in foreign cultures. However, until the promotion and management patterns and practices of foreign affairs agencies change, persons of color will continue to encounter glass ceilings that discourage them from pursuing international affairs careers in the federal government. A lack of role models who can demonstrate on a daily basis that diversity is an asset and is rewarded, as well as a lack both of government programs aimed at retaining minorities and of senior management's commitment to advancing minorities' careers, not only will discourage minorities from entry, but also will sustain the very conditions that thwart efforts to ensure diversity in decision-making circles.

WHY DIVERSITY IS DIFFICULT TO ACHIEVE

I want you to find strength in your diversity. Let the fact that you are black or yellow or white be a source of pride and inspiration to you. Draw strength from it. Let it be someone else's problem, but never yours. Never hide behind it or use it as an excuse for not doing your best.

—General Colin Powell, Commencement Address at Fisk University, 1992.

WHAT THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT IS FINDING OUT

The Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Equal Employment Opportunity Act of 1972 require federal departments and agencies to eliminate the underrepresentation of minorities and women in government. The acts call for the development and implementation of affirmative employment measures aimed at removing barriers that prevent more minorities and women from entering the federal workforce and from advancing within it. The Civil Service Reform Act of 1978 further specified that targeted affirmative recruitment programs should be developed for those occupational categories and specific grades where underrepresentation exists. After nearly a decade of experience and effort, the federal government is still far from having the representative workforce at the professional level that is required by law. More than 90,000 discrimination complaints are pending before the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.[58] The number of class action suits against federal agencies also is increasing substantially.[59]

There are two principal explanations for the lack of progress with respect to increasing minority representation. First, until the mid-1980s, federal recruiters and equal employment opportunity officers faced a sheer lack of minorities qualified for professional and administrative positions in government service. This was due partly to the small numbers of minorities who were able to get the postgraduate education and advanced training required for such positions. For those who had access to such education, government tended to be the last choice as a career; education and the ministry were far more popular choices, and persons demonstrating special academic promise tended to be encouraged to seek careers in either law or medical sciences. By the end of the 1980s, however, educational access and patterns of advanced degree work changed, making it less plausible to point to inadequate supply as the chief cause of shortfalls in affirmative recruiting and advancement programs.

The second explanation for the lack of progress with respect to increasing minority representation in the professional grades of the federal service is the inability of federal managers and institutions to embrace diversity. The most consistent finding to date of all federal studies and reviews (the most recent of which will be highlighted later) suggests that there is substantial resistance to the concept of affirmative action within the government on the grounds that it will lower the quality and productiveness of the civil service. There is virtually no evidence to suggest that federal officials see diversity as an asset either in making policy or in implementing it.

Federal agencies, consequently, spend most of their effort on recruiting minorities rather than on retaining them. Reports also are surfacing in the course of class action and racial and gender bias suits and complaints that allege that at the mid-management level, in particular, supervisors are uncomfortable with persons from minority groups. They seem unwilling to accept the different perspectives, values, and styles of work of minority employees and do not recognize that such differences in approach might be an asset when developing or implementing policy.[60] Departmental and agency Affirmative Action Accomplishment Reports, moreover, consistently note that there is still very little training for managers on how to enhance the competitiveness of minorities to move up in the civil service. Training also might help dispel some of the notions that cause persons of color to be perceived as less qualified to manage and set policies than whites. Finally, progress on affirmative action and equal employment opportunity goals is not being linked to the overall evaluation of senior career officials. In sum, the achievement of a workforce that is representative of the nation's

diversity at all levels still does not appear to be a critical success factor outside the small circle of officials in the Office of Personnel Management, the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, and the EEO officers in each agency.[61]

KEY FEDERAL STUDIES AND FINDINGS

Since 1990, several major analytical studies have been released by federal agencies charged with studying government-wide compliance with the laws mentioned earlier.

■ *Entering Professional Positions in the Federal Government* (U.S. Merit Systems Protection Board, 1994) reviewed the methods used to fill professional and administrative positions in the government in 1984 (when 40,610 persons entered at these occupational levels) and in 1992 (when 26,064 entered). The period studied covered not only a time when the number of first-time entrants into government service was declining, but also during which the dominant selection methods changed. Rather than being centralized and conducted by the Office of Personnel Management, individual agencies were able to hire directly (following their own recruitment programs for new hires and also seeking to promote candidates from the clerical and technical support ranks) and to make greater use of special programs designed to attract outstanding college graduates and participants in cooperative education programs. These changes in recruitment patterns had the effect of higher proportions of minorities being selected, as well as higher quality performance being noted for the agency-recruited applicants as their career progress was evaluated. The significance of this finding is that concern about a possible decline in quality occurring as agencies relied less on centralized recruiting and selection methods appears unfounded.

■ *Affirmative Employment: Assessing Progress of EEO Groups in Key Federal Jobs Can Be Improved* (Government Accounting Office, March 1993) presents the results of analyzing and tracking the representation of women and minorities in 262 "key jobs" at the 25 largest federal agencies (excluding the intelligence community) by comparing workforce demographics in 1982 and 1990. Under the terms of this study, a "key job" was a position that led to middle- or upper-level management. "All of the groups of minority men and women..., except for Native American women, were better represented among key job workers in 1990 than they were in 1984. All of these groups, including Native American women, were better represented at upper grades in 1990 than they were in 1984."[62] (See Appendix, Graph X.) Nevertheless, "in spite of these favorable trends, women and minorities in key jobs were...relatively better represented at lower grades than at upper grades."[63] And, "while the relative numbers of minority men and women at grade 15 were quite low, the relative numbers promoted to that grade, both in 1984 and 1990, were lower than the relative numbers employed at that grade. Further, minority women, in general, and African American women, in particular, were separating in higher relative numbers than those at which they were employed."[64] The GAO's central concern in conducting this type of study is to develop better data sources and benchmarks to measure diversity;[65] the EEOC has disputed much of the GAO's work to develop an alternative to using the civilian labor force as a benchmark to gauge representation. Regardless of whether the GAO or EEOC is right, both agencies are concerned about the persistent finding that however representation is calculated, as grade levels go up, the number and influence of minorities within them go down.

■ The *National Performance Review* (September 1993), conducted under the aegis of Vice President Al Gore, found that "overall, the federal government has yet to successfully eliminate some discriminatory barriers to attracting and retaining underrepresented groups at every civil service grade level.... A glass ceiling still hangs over the employment and career prospects for women, minorities, and people with disabilities.... Serious disparity persists...in promotion rates to professional and administrative levels that serve as the gateway to further advancement."[66] The report concluded that the obstacles to diversity can be overcome only by a presidential directive to make equal opportunity "an integral part of each agency's mission and strategic plan."[67] As of this writing, such a directive has not been issued.

■ *Evolving Workforce Demographics: Federal Agency Action and Reaction* (U.S. Merit Systems Protection Board, November 1993) focuses on projections of the civilian and federal workforces for the year 2000 and beyond and on how federal agencies are responding to the expected challenges to ensure both quality and diversity. As with many government reports, this one notes the need for continued attention to the absence of minority advancement within the professional workforce and to the creation of programs and initiatives that aim to increase minority representation at the higher grades and at senior management levels. Of 35 federal agencies studied, the board found that only six had created programs focused on preparing minorities for advancement. The heavy emphasis on recruiting minorities for the federal service, the report concludes, "may not be the most effective way to achieve a fully representative workforce. Equal—or greater—emphasis is needed on moving minorities into the specific occupations and grades where underrepresentation still exists."[68]

■ *Federal Affirmative Employment: Better Guidance Needed for Small Agencies* (Government Accounting Office, July 1994) reports on the patterns of representation of women and minorities

in 75 small- to medium-sized federal agencies (where the workforces range in size from three to more than 4,000 employees). The report uncovered a pressing need for clarification of affirmative employment requirements and compliance with government-wide reporting guidelines among the heads of these agencies, as well as by EEO officers within them. As was the case with the GAO study of major departments and agencies mentioned earlier, the analysis indicated that while progress was being made toward increasing minority representation at such agencies, there was widespread underrepresentation for both women and all categories of minorities, especially in professional positions. And for those jobs considered "key" because they lead to senior positions, "underrepresentation existed in every key job."[69]

■ *Minority/Non-Minority Disparate Discharge Rates* (United States Office of Personnel Management, April 1995) examines the racial pattern in dismissal rates in the non-postal executive branch civilian workforce during fiscal year 1992. Some 12,000 discharges occurred that year (one-half of 1 percent of the total federal workforce), of which persons of color accounted for 52 percent. When computed as a dismissal rate per 1,000 employees and controlled for race and national origin, the study found that "minority discharges occurred at a rate of about ten per thousand employees on board and that non-minority discharges occurred at a rate of about three per thousand employees."[70] African Americans "were 2.7 times more likely to be fired" compared to their non-minority counterparts.[71] The OPM study also included focus groups involving more than 100 federal managers; "in every group there were many comments reflecting the belief that racially or culturally based stereotypes affect the discipline process" leading to dismissal.[72]

Studies on the following topics are underway at the U.S. Merit Systems Protection Board:

■ Barriers that prevent minorities from being hired into and advancing in managerial and supervisory positions;

■ Racial and other non-merit factors that contribute to adverse personnel actions; and

■ The extent of systemic barriers to the fair treatment of minorities in the federal system.[73]

In addition, the Federal Glass Ceiling Commission, a bipartisan government commission under the auspices of the Department of Labor, was established to study "artificial barriers, based on attitudinal or organizational bias, that prevent qualified individuals from advancing within their organization and reaching their full potential" in the private sector. The findings of the commission indicate that what blocks qualified minorities and female candidates from advancement are the fears, stereotypes, and other preconceptions that primarily white and male senior managers apply when promotion opportunities arise. Another factor is the degree to which persons of color are excluded from the networks and mentoring that their white counterparts have established. The first report issued by the commission also notes that companies "that succeed in shattering their own glass ceilings racked up stock-market records that were nearly two and a half times better than otherwise comparable companies."[74] While the process of governance does not have such readily quantifiable benchmarks, the commission suggests that achieving diversity ought to be of equal significance and benefit to the government.

WHAT WORKS

Throughout fiscal year 1993, federal departments used a wide variety of approaches to increase minority recruitment, retention, and advancement. The most promising techniques are reported annually in the *Affirmative Employment Program Accomplishments Report* for each department or agency. "Best practices" over the past five years have included:

■ mandating the advancement of minorities into Senior Executive Service Candidate Development Programs and widening internal recruitment programs to attract persons of color to apply for all departmental professional openings, as has been done for the past two years at the Departments of Agriculture and Veterans Affairs;

■ forging and maintaining links with historically black colleges and universities (HBCUs), as well as with Hispanic American colleges and universities (HACUs), and targeting cooperative education and summer internship programs at students in such institutions, as has been done for several years by the Departments of Health and Human Services and Veterans Affairs, the Army and the Air Force, and the EPA; and

■ awarding agency-funded scholarships and fellowships with the explicit goal of attracting more minorities into federal service, as has been done by the Foreign Service, the Intelligence Community, the Department of Energy, and NASA.

While the results are less tangible than those stemming from the initiatives mentioned above, establishing advisory councils within the office of the secretary, as has been done at the Departments of Commerce and Defense, also seems to be a promising way to develop new approaches to promoting diversity, especially when at least one "front office" special assistant is made responsible for minority outreach. Another promising approach, though vulnerable to federal budget reductions, is the development of mentoring relationships with high schools and colleges via officer-in-residence programs. Such programs would promote curricular changes that would enhance the effectiveness of minorities in competing for entry-level professional positions in the federal civilian executive workforce. Conducting work-

shops for department supervisors on strategies for increasing and managing diversity, as well as holding workshops for staff in minority organizations that can assist in locating and encouraging qualified students to enter government career techniques used by virtually every agency. But without linking such in-service sensitivity training to the types of initiatives highlighted here, the impact on increasing minority representation is negligible.

While diversity initiatives do lead to progress toward meeting EEO goals, the net result still amounts to programs that increase minority representation at the professional level by relatively small numbers of persons in each agency. Moreover, none of the cabinet departments takes all of these steps or appears able to do. Most still report the lack of a strategic plan to increase diversity and to use the measures outlined above to address the issues and barriers to increasing the representation of minorities. The results to date of such programs and initiatives suggest that genuine progress requires a concerted effort to go beyond affirmative action recruitment objectives and to mentor and equip minorities for advancement within the ranks of civil service professionals. Federal officials also need to be better prepared to manage a diverse working environment and, in particular, to identify the ways in which professional development networks and other aspects of bureaucratic culture can be broadened to ensure the participation of minorities.

Figure 8
Minorities Receiving Presidential Appointments
Clinton Administration (July 1994)

Minority Group	Number	Percent of All Appointments
African American	225	13.9
Hispanic	115	6.3
Asian American	46	2.5
Native American	38	2.1

Source: Office of Presidential Personnel, The White House.

Figure 9
Minority Representation at Senior Management Levels
September 30, 1993

Grade Level	African American	Hispanic	Asian American	Native American
GS-12	10.4%	4.2%	4.1%	1.0%
GS-13	8.5%	3.3%	3.3%	0.9%
GS-14	6.3%	2.6%	2.8%	0.9%
GS-15	4.6%	2.5%	4.3%	0.6%
SES	5.0%	1.9%	1.2%	0.6%

Source: Office of Workforce Information, Central Personnel Data File Report, U.S. Office of Personnel Management.

DOES HAVING A CABINET THAT LOOKS LIKE AMERICA MAKE A DIFFERENCE?

There are many reasons for having a cabinet and other presidential appointments emphasize diversity. At the very highest levels of government, as well as at the top of the permanent civil service, persons of color need to see that the most senior ranks of government are open to them. But throughout the appointments process, there also needs to be visible evidence of diversity lest what is done and those appointed end up being seen as token concessions to affirmative action rhetoric. Managers at the middle levels of the federal executive branch need to have the experience of working under the direction of senior minority officials. Equally important, increasing the number of minorities appointed by the president throughout the government will ensure that the policy-making process at a variety of levels will directly benefit from and reflect minority needs and viewpoints.

As of July 1994, the Clinton administration had appointed more than 1,800 persons, of whom one-quarter were minorities. This compares with percentages ranging between 10 and 15 for other administrations, according to interviews with White House personnel officers; exact data are not available.

By the end of fiscal year 1993, the total number of minorities accounted for 12 percent of the persons occupying positions in the Senior Executive Service and at the GS-14 and GS-15 grade levels. The distribution by GS grade level is shown in the figure above.

While the aggregate and grade-by-grade proportions show an improvement of only 1 to 2 percentage points over recent years, many federal personnel officials think that the Clinton administration's commitment to diversity at the cabinet level is affecting minority advancement into senior management ranks and that the data for fiscal year 1994 will show increases of close to 10 percent. In 1993, more than 19,000 persons of color were in the top ranks (GS-14 and GS-15 and SES) out of a total senior management corps of nearly 163,000 persons.

Outlook to the Year 2000

NEAR-TERM REALITIES

The patterns described here suggest that considerable change is taking place in the composition of the federal civilian workforce: It is downsizing dramatically, specializing by attracting more highly educated entrants to career service, and diversifying. Nevertheless, the federal government still needs to put in place an effective system for promoting and delivering equal employment opportunities. A review of the fiscal year 1993 "Affirmative Employment Program Plan Accomplishment" reports of the departments and agencies reporting to the EEOC indicates that the problems and barriers that need to be overcome are systemic. Federal managers do not see their success or effectiveness as being linked to making sure that progress within their units toward EEO and other aspects of affirmative action is achieved. Hiring and promotion practices, as a result, perpetuate what one cabinet secretary recently called "a plantation mentality," with the result that "We do not have a government that looks like America."[75] EEO offices are staffed and positioned, as another department head put it, "so as to lessen—rather than enhance—their ability to perform functions vital to the success of each agency."[76] Individual departments and agencies consistently report that barriers to further progress include the lack of adequate training and current information available to federal managers (not only at headquarters, but also at major regional offices), as well as to EEO personnel; the absence of appropriate measurement criteria and timely tracking systems to evaluate the progress being made; and widespread fear of reprisal for those registering EEO complaints.[77]

LONGER TERM PROSPECTS

Given present growth rates (annualized over the 1988 to 1993 period), it will take most minorities until well into the next century to achieve representation in federal departments equal to that they had in the 1993 civilian labor force. Only the Department of Agriculture has actually suggested a date (the year 2028) by which the proportion of minorities in its workforce will reach parity with the 1990 CLF. Following its method, and using the 1993 CLF (in order to correct for the significant under-reporting of minorities in the 1990 census data), a projection for all federal departments by race and sex has been developed. (See Tables 5 through 12 in the Appendix.)

While progress could occur more rapidly, it is difficult to foresee conditions under which this would happen, particularly as the federal workforce continues to downsize and as minorities remain skeptical about their chances for advancement within the federal bureaucracy. In addition, the growth rates attained between 1988 and 1993 are the highest yet recorded. It is difficult to conceive of the government overcoming the many obstacles that hinder effective affirmative action and rapid progress toward equal employment opportunity. Finally, even in those areas where the federal government workforce employs higher proportions of some minority groups than the CLF, the prospect of the rapid growth of the populations in those groups in the next two decades—coupled with the relatively slow growth rate anticipated (and projected by the statistics in the Appendix)—may mean that the CLF as a whole will achieve levels of representation that outstrip what may be possible at the federal level. Consequently, by the time some degree of parity with the 1993 CLF workforce is achieved, the government may be further behind in its goal of reflecting the diversity of the nation and of the labor force as a whole.

AGENDA FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

There is still remarkably little data pertaining to why and how having minorities represented in decision making and operations in the federal executive branch makes a difference.[78] The literature reflects the fact that the small number of persons of color—and the virtual lack thereof in top policy positions—makes it difficult to identify concretely the contribution that minority representation can make to public policy. There is also some evidence to suggest that in government, as in academia, minorities may find or feel themselves compelled to devalue their cultures as they make

their way upward in a world dominated for so long by a white majority. Even if these conditions did not exist, it might still be possible that decisions and policies in the U.S. system involve such complicated tradeoffs that what results is a function far more of the bureaucratic process than of the mix of participants in it. Nevertheless, effective minority representation should make a difference both to those who are served by government and to the way in which government advances national interests.

The following issues should be addressed as a framework is established for appraising the importance and identifying the most effective means of achieving greater diversity in the federal workforce at the professional level:

- How does diversity affect decisions and improve service delivery? Case studies could be developed that illustrate how affirmative action has contributed to the effectiveness of state and local government units. Over the past decade, for example, an increasing number of minority professionals have been brought into top state and local government positions, where they have made substantial contributions to relating government and its programs more effectively to minority communities.[79] It would be instructive for federal managers to study these examples as a means of increasing awareness of the positive contribution diversity can make to governance.

- Can diversity be achieved as the federal workforce and budget shrink? Federal managers could benefit from an examination both of how in the private sector and in state and local government effective downsizing has been achieved without reducing diversity and of what it takes to provide for and foster the retention and advancement of minorities into top management positions.

- The extent to which minorities are essentially "locked out" of setting government priorities by virtue of their absence in key offices as well as in key jobs needs to be inventoried systematically in order to target where increasing diversity would have the greatest impact on policy development and implementation.[80]

Other case studies should focus on the degree to which minority citizens afford government requirements and policies greater legitimacy and respect if they know the institutions that directly affect their quality of life are being run by persons who share their own racial and ethnic backgrounds.[81]

While the need for studies such as these exists, it will be equally important to link the findings to recommendations for practical action. Future research needs to contribute directly to fashioning the measures that will lead to accelerated change in the diversity of governance in the federal system. Until this happens, affirmative action and equal employment opportunity objectives will continue to be inventoried, studied, and debated far more than they will be achieved.

Endnotes

[1] Text of a statement issued by Ben L. Erdreich, Chairman, U.S. Merit Systems Protection Board, 22 December 1993.

[2] United States Office of Personnel Management, Career Entry Group, Office of Affirmative Recruiting and Employment, "Pipeline Analysis into Federal Professional and Administrative Positions of Women, Native Americans, Asians, African Americans, and Hispanics" in *Federal Equal Opportunity Recruitment Program: Annual Report to Congress, Fiscal Year 1992.* Washington, DC: U.S. Office of Personnel Management, January 1993: pp. 57–103.

[3] Others in the series are *The Dilemma Endures: Increasing the Representation of Minorities in Public Policy and International Affairs Careers.* Princeton, NJ: Woodrow Wilson National Fellowship Foundation, August 1993; and *The Difference That Diversity Makes: The Significance and Impact of Increased Minority Participation in Public Policy and International Affairs.* Washington, DC: School of Foreign Service, Georgetown University, January 1994.

[4] There are increasing calls for revising the way the U.S. government defines minorities and the reporting categories established in 1977. By the next Census, the definition of minority is very likely to change to include at least a multiracial category to reflect the fact that many persons have ancestries that combine several racial and ethnic categories. See Lewis, Gregory. "OMB Eyes Revising Ethnic Categories," *Washington Times,* 18 July 1994: A8.

[5] Hispanics already outnumber African Americans in four of the ten largest U.S. cities (Los Angeles, Houston, Phoenix, and San Antonio) and soon will do so in New York. See Roberts, Sam. "Hispanic Population Outnumbers Blacks in Four Cities as Nation's Demographics Shift," *New York Times,* 9 October 1994: 34. See also Cattan, Peter. "The Diversity of Hispanics in the U.S. Work Force," *Monthly Labor Review,* August 1993: 3–15.

[6] Day, Jennifer Cheeseman. *Population Projections of the United States by Age, Sex, Race, and Hispanic Origin: 1993 to 2050.* Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Commerce, Economics and Statistics Administration, Bureau of the Census, November 1993, pp. xxi–xxiv and 12–55.

[7] See, for example, the analysis and findings reported in Ong Hing, Bill. *Making and Remaking Asian America through Immigration Policy, 1985–1990.* Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1993.

[8] Applebombe, Peter. "College Segregation Persists, Study Says," *New York Times,* 18 May 1995: A 16. The study, commissioned by the Southern Educational Foundation and released on the 41st anniversary of *Brown v. Board of Education,* examined college participation rates for minorities in 12 of the 19 states that created segregated college systems after the Civil War. Among the study's findings: Less than 10 percent of African American freshmen were enrolled at major institutions in two-thirds of these states, and African Americans and Hispanics are underrepresented among those receiving bachelor's degrees in every state studied.

[9] Reported in Gose, Ben. "Growth of Minority Enrollment Slowed to 2.6 Percent in 1993," *Chronicle of Higher Education,* 17 March 1995: A34.

[10] U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics. *Digest of Education Statistics 1993.* Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1993, Table 178. Data are not reported for Asian and Native Americans.

[11] "For Richer, for Poorer," *The Economist,* 5 November 1994: 19.

[12] Carter, Deborah J. and Reginald Wilson. *Minorities in Higher Education: Twelfth Annual Status Report.* Washington, DC: American Council on Education, 1994, p. 35.

[13] *The Class of '94,* Cambridge, MA: Consortium on Financing Higher Education, September 1994. Distribution of the survey data is restricted to COFHE members for their internal use; the results cited here are published with permission. COFHE institutions that participated in the study are Amherst, Bryn Mawr, Carleton, Cornell, Duke, Georgetown, Harvard, Johns Hopkins, Mt Holyoke, Northwestern, Pomona, University of Pennsylvania, Princeton, Rice, Smith, Swarthmore,

University of Chicago, University of Rochester, Washington University, Wellesley, and Yale.

[14] See, for example, *Minority Hiring and Promotion Practices within Federal Law Enforcement Agencies.* Hearing before the Subcommittee on Investigations, Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, House of Representatives, 1 October 1992.

[15] Mintz, Suzanne D. *Sources: Diversity Initiatives in Higher Education.* Washington, DC: American Council on Education, 1993.

[16] For a review of lessons learned, see Harper, Ashley, ed. *Achieving Diversity: Strategies for the Recruitment of Traditionally Underrepresented Students.* Alexandria, VA: National Association of College Admissions Counselors, 1993; Richardson, Richard C., Jr., and Elizabeth Fisk Skinner. *Achieving Quality and Diversity.* New York, NY: Macmillan, 1991. Ottinger, Cecilia. *College-Going, Persistence, and Completion Patterns in Higher Education: What Do We Know?* Washington, DC: American Council on Education, 1991.

[17] *Sources*, p. 293.

[18] "Central Intelligence Agency, Defense Intelligence Agency, and National Security Agency: Minority Hire, Retentions, and Promotions." Hearing before the Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, House of Representatives, 103rd Cong., 1st sess., 28 October 1993, p. 4.

[19] The Hon. Newt Gingrich, "Face the Nation," 9 April 1995, and quoted in Kahlenberg, Richard D., "Equal Opportunity Critics," *The New Republic*, 17 & 24 July 1995: 20. A summary of legislative initiatives can be found in *Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report*, 15 July 1995, p. 2075.

[20] Excerpt from *Adarand Constructors* v. *Pena*, quoted in *New York Times*, 13 June 1995: D 24.

[21] See, for example, the views detailed in Lemann, Nicholas. "Taking Affirmative Action Apart," *New York Times Magazine*, 11 June 1995: 36–43 ff. and the Gallup polling data reported in *USA Today*, 24 March 1995: A3.

[22] Hollman, Frederick W. "U.S. Population Estimates, by Age, Sex, Race, and Hispanic Origin: 1990–1992," Population Projections Branch, Population Division, U.S. Bureau of the Census. Typescript report, March 1994.

[23] Career Entry Group, Office of Affirmative Recruiting and Employment, *Federal Equal Opportunity Recruitment Program.* Washington, DC: U.S. Office of Personnel Management, January 1993: p. 63.

[24] Ibid.

[25] Graham, Lawrence Otis. *The Best Companies for Minorities.* New York: Penguin, 1993. As a result of his study, Graham developed "Eleven Principles for Responsible Corporate Diversity" (pp. 436–437); they are remarkably like those urged on federal agencies by EEO and OPM. Business seems to embrace these principles more readily because success at diversity is seen materially and positively to affect unit performance and earnings. See, for example, Schreiber, Don. "Work Force Diversity Important to IBM," *Think*, 58 (1992) and the results of a survey of more than 100 human resource executives reported in Winterle, Mary J. *Work Force Diversity: Corporate Challenges, Corporate Responses.* New York: The Conference Board, 1992. Once in a corporate setting, however, minorities often report that they can advance only in selected areas where firms traditionally have linked positions to serving minority community needs and demands. See the results reported in *A Report on the Glass Ceiling Initiatives.* Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Labor, 1991, which focused on nine Fortune 500 corporations and the success women and minorities had in advancing to upper management positions, and Collins, Sharon M. "Blacks on the Bubble: The Vulnerability of Black Executives in White Corporations," *The Sociological Quarterly*, 34 (1993): 429–447.

[26] Thomas, Roosevelt R., Jr. Quoted in "What Companies Have Learned," *New York Times*, special supplement on diversity, 23 October 1993: 4.

[27] *Statistical Abstract of the United States.* Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1994, Table 644.

[28] Office of Program Operations. *Job Patterns for Minorities and Women in State and Local Government, 1993.* Washington, DC: U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, 1994, p. xvii.

[29] See Cunningham, Joy Pierson. "Fostering Advancement for Women and Minorities," *Public Management*, August 1992: 20–25.

[30] Schultz, Craig. *1993 U.S. Senate Employment Practices: A Study of Staff Salary, Tenure, Demographics, and Benefits.* Washington, DC: Congressional Management Foundation, 1993; and *1992 House of Representatives Employment Practices.* Washington, DC: Congressional Management Foundation, 1992.

[31] Congressman Henry Gonzales, transmittal letter, "Status of Equal Employment Opportunity at Federal Reserve: Diversity Still Lacking." Staff Report of the Committee on Banking, Finance, and Urban Affairs, House of Representatives, 103rd Cong., 1st sess., December 1993.

[32] Data provided by the administrative office of the United States Courts, 30 September 1994.

[33] The data will be reported in several studies due to be released by the board in late 1996.

[34] Barr, Stephen. "Fed Firing Minorities at Twice the Rate of Whites, Study Shows," *Houston Chronicle*, 19 December 1993: 27.

[35] Jenkins, Harriett. Quoted in *The Changing Faces of the Federal Workforce*, Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1993, p. 46.

[36] Federal Equal Employment Opportunity Recruitment Program ("FEROP"), "Report to Congress, Fiscal Year 1992." Washington, DC: U.S. Office of Personnel Management, 1993.

[37] Public Law 95–454, 13 October 1978, 92 *United States Statutes at Large*, p. 1152.

[38] FEROP, p. 3

[39] The occupational focus in this report is on professionals defined in the Office of Personnel Management's *Handbook of Occupational Groups and Series of Classes* as occupations that require knowledge in a field of science or learning through education or training equivalent to a bachelor's or higher degree with major study in or pertinent to the specialized field, as opposed to general education.

[40] Career Entry Group, Office of Affirmative Recruiting and Employment. *Federal Equal Opportunity Recruitment Program, Fiscal Year 1993.* Washington, DC: U.S. Office of Personnel Management, January 1994, Tables 3, 6, 8, 10, and 12; see also, Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. *Annual Report on the Employment of Minorities, Women, & People with Disabilities in the Federal Government.* Washington, DC: Office of Federal Operations, 1992, Table I-3, p. 22, and Office of Workforce Information. *The Fact Book: Federal Civilian Workforce, 1993 Edition.* Washington, DC: U.S. Office of Personnel Management, 1993, p. 29.

[41] Office of Workforce Information, Personnel Systems and Oversight Group, U.S. Office of Personnel Management. Central Personnel Data File Reports for 1982 and 1993. Reports were prepared only biennially prior to 1987.

[42] U.S. Office of Personnel Management. *Federal Equal Opportunity Recruitment Program.* Washington, DC: Office of Affirmative Recruiting and Employment, January 1993, pp. 73–105.

[43] U.S. Office of Personnel Management. *Federal Equal Opportunity Recruitment Program*, Annual Reports to Congress for FY 1992 and FY 1993.

[44] Interview with the Honorable Clifford Wharton, Deputy Secretary of State, June 1994.

[45] See the analyses in McHenry, Donald F. "Post–Cold War Foreign Policy Toward Shared Responsibility" and Yankelovich, Daniel, and John Immerwahr, "The Rules of Public Engagement," and the projections contained in Wilson, Ernest J. III, "Double Diversity: The Intersection of Big Changes at Home and Abroad," in Yankelovich, Daniel, and I.M. Destler, eds *Beyond the Beltway: Engaging the Public in U.S. Foreign Policy.* New York: W.W. Norton, 1994, pp. 94–106, 43–77, and 155–174.

[46] Foreign Service Act of 1980. (See p. 35.)

[47] Holmes, Genta Hawkins. "Diversity in the Department of State and Foreign Service," *State*, March 1994: 23.

[48] Data taken from U.S. Department of State. *Affirmative Employment Program Accomplishments Report, Fiscal Year 1993*, 9 June 1994.

[49] "Equal Employment Opportunity in the Foreign Affairs Agencies." Hearings before the Subcommittees on International Operations and on Western Hemisphere Affairs of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, House of Representatives, 100th Cong. 1st sess. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1988, p 31.

[50] Ibid., p. 35.

[51] Ibid., p. 51.

[52] See the views reported in Goshko, John M. "Foreign Service's Painful Passage to Looking More Like America," *Washington Post*, 21 April 1994: A29, and "Undiplomatically Yours: In a Candid Cable, a Foreign Service Officer Comments on the Push for Diversity at State," *Washingtonian*, July 1994: 27–29.

[53] Vender Schaaf, Inspector General Doric. Quoted in "Minorities, Women Underrepresented at NSA, Defense Department IG Reports, *BNA Government Employee Relations Report*, 18 April 1994.

[54] See, for example, Pincus, Walter. "CIA and the 'Glass Ceiling' Secret," *Washington Post*, 9 September 1994: A25.

[55] Reported in Smith, R. Jeffrey. "Woolsey Begins Internal Review at CIA," *Washington Post*, 17 July 1994: A8.

[56] Statement of the Director of Central Intelligence before the Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, U.S. House of Representatives, 20 September 1994, pp. 2–3.

[57] "Central Intelligence Agency, Defense Intelligence Agency, and National Security Agency: Minority Hire, Retentions, and Promotions," Hearing before the Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, House of Representatives, 103rd Cong., 1st sess., 28 October 1993.

[58] Grimes, Ann. "Reinvigorating the Fight Against Discrimination," *Washington Post*, 27 October 1994: A21.

[59] Statement of Carolyn Kroon, President, Federally Employed Women, Inc., before the Select Education and Civil Rights Subcommittee, House Education and Labor Committee, 13 October 1993; Pierce, Greg. "Justice Accepts Discrimination Suit by INS Agents," *Washington Times*, 1 April 1994: A8.

[60] See, for example, the findings reported in Bureau of National Affairs. *Government Employee Relations Report*, 13 September and 1 November 1993, and opinions reported in Barr, Stephen. "Efforts Urged for Minorities, Older Workers," *Washington Post*, 6 December 1993: A21; and Mann, Judy. "Shattering Government's Glass Ceiling," *Washington Post*, 7 January 1994: E3.

[61] See also the observations in Report on the Proceedings, *The Changing Face of the Federal Workforce: A Symposium on Diversity.* Washington, DC: U.S. Merit Systems Protection Board, September 1993.

[62] *Affirmative Employment: Assessing Progress of EEO Groups in Key Federal Jobs Can Be Improved.* Washington, DC: Government Accounting Office, 1993, p. 2.

[63] Ibid., p. 2.

[64] Ibid., pp. 2–3.

[65] Summary of statement by Bernard L. Ungar, Director, Federal Human Resource Management Issues,

Government Accounting Office, 23 October 1991.

[66] Office of the Press Secretary, the White House, *National Performance Review*, 7 September 1993.

[67] Ibid.

[68] *Evolving Workforce Demographics: Federal Agency Action and Reaction.* Washington, DC: U.S. Merit Systems Protection Board, 1993.

[69] *Federal Affirmative Employment: Better Guidance Needed for Small Agencies.* Washington, DC: Government Accounting Office, 1994.

[70] *Minority/Non-Minority Disparate Discharge Rates.* Washington, DC: U.S. Office of Personnel Management, 1995.

[71] Ibid.

[72] Ibid.

[73] *Fair and Equitable Treatment: A Progress Report on Minority Employment in the Federal Government.* Washington, DC: Government Printing Office (forthcoming) will report on the results of a survey of more than 23,000 federal employees. It is due for release by May 1996.

[74] Federal Glass Ceiling Commission. *Good for Business: Making Full Use of the Nation's Human Capital.* Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, March 1995, p. v.

[75] Secretary of Commerce Ronald H. Brown. Quoted in Vest, Jason. "Diversity Guidance Issued at Commerce." *Washington Post*, 22 July 1994: A21.

[76] Statement by Secretary Mike Espy, "EEO and Civil Rights Policy Statement," Department of Agriculture, 15 April 1993.

[77] Based on a review of fiscal year 1993 Affirmative Employment Program Plan Accomplishment reports submitted by all federal departments and most agencies.

[78] Compare this to findings on the impact of minority caucuses and voting patterns (on such issues as the assault weapon ban in 1994 or the federal budget in 1993) in the legislative branch as reported in Jones, Elaine R. "In Peril: Black Lawmakers," *New York Times*, 11 September 1994: E19.

[79] Consider, for example, the growing proportion of recipients of such awards as the Harold W. McGraw, Jr. Prize in Education, the Goldman Environmental Prize, and the John F. Kennedy School of Government-Ford Foundation awards for Innovation in State and Local Government who are persons of color. For a case study of how one city developed an action plan for improved service based on its achievement of greater diversity, see Ream, David. "Employment Outreach: A Quality Approach to Workforce Diversity," *Public Management*, 74 (June 1992): 18–20; and the results summarized in "Government Works! 5 Success Stories," *New York Times*, 14 January 1995: 23.

[80] For example, a recent study found that the proportion of the U.S. minority population living near hazardous waste disposal sites increased from 25 percent in 1980 to 31 percent in 1993. See "Minorities Often Live by Waste Sites," *Washington Times*, 25 August 1994: A10. The federal agency that oversees the disposal of toxic wastes is the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA). At the end of fiscal year 1993, persons of color accounted for 17 percent of the EPA's professional workforce, 14 percent of managers at the GS-13 through GS-15 levels and only 5 percent of the Senior Executive Service appointments at that agency, leading many observers of the implementation of the Resource Conservation and Recovery Act to question the effectiveness and responsiveness of policies developed to deal with community side-effects of the U.S. waste-disposal siting program.

[81] There is a growing body of evidence suggesting that this is happening at the state and local government levels. See, for example, the findings reported in Mlandenka, Kenneth R. "Blacks and Hispanics in Urban Politics," *American Political Science Review*, 83 (March 1989): 165–191; and Riccucci, Norma M. *Women, Minorities, and Unions in the Public Sector.* New York: Greenwood Press, 1990.

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_____. *Federal Personnel: The EEO Implications of Reductions in Force*, Testimony of Nancy Kingsbury, Director, Federal Human Resource Management Issues, General Government Division, before the Subcommittee on Civil Service and Subcommittee on Compensation and Employee Benefits, Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, House of Representatives, U.S. Congress, 1 February 1994.

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APPENDIX

The data used to generate the tables accompanying this report required collection efforts involving many public and private sector organizations. Because the affirmative action reports and plans annually prepared for submission to the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission are considered the property of individual departments and agencies, every executive branch organization submitting such a report was contacted and the most recent data requested in order to compile an overall profile of federal affirmative action results for fiscal year 1993. Specific requests for summary statistics as well as raw data also involved contacting and working with individual officers and analysts at the following agencies and organizations:

American Council on Education
Association for Public Policy Analysis and Management
Association of Professional Schools of International Affairs
Bureau of the Census
Congressional Research Service, Library of Congress
Government Accounting Office
Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies
National Academy of Public Administration
National Center for Education Statistics, U.S. Department of Education
Office of Personnel Management
U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission
U.S. Merit Systems Protection Board
White House Office of Presidential Personnel
Woodrow Wilson National Fellowship Foundation

The following computerized databases also were scanned for trends and developments related to the topics covered in this report:

LEXIS/NEXIS
Federal Information Exchange (via Internet)
Federal World Gateway (via Internet)

The graphs and tables which report data on the representation of minorities in the federal government refer both to "professional" positions and to "GS" grade levels. The term "professional" is that used throughout the U.S. government as part of the classification of white-collar occupations. The definitions of these categories are based on the level of difficulty of responsibility involved and the educational requirements of each occupation.

■ "Professional" occupations require knowledge in a field of science or learning typically acquired through education or training pertinent to the specialized field, as distinguished from general education. The work in a professional occupation requires the exercise of discretion, judgment, and personal responsibility for the application of an organized body of knowledge that is constantly studied to make discoveries and interpretations, and to improve the data, materials, and methods.

■ "Administrative" occupations involve analytical ability, judgment, discretion, personal responsibility, and application of a strong body of knowledge of principles, concepts, and practices applicable to one or more fields of administration or management. While these positions do not require specialized educational majors, they do involve the type of skills (analytical, research, judgment) typically gained through a college-level general education, or through progressively responsible experience.

■ "Technical" occupations involve work which is non- routine in nature and is typically associated with, and supportive of, a professional or administrative field. Such occupations involve extensive practical knowledge gained through on-the-job experience or specific training less than that represented by college graduation. Work in these occupations may involve substantial elements of the work in a professional or administrative field but requires less than full competence in the field involved.

■ "Clerical" occupations involve structured work support of office, business, field, or fiscal operations. Duties are performed in accordance with established policies and require training,

experience, or working knowledge related to the tasks to be performed.

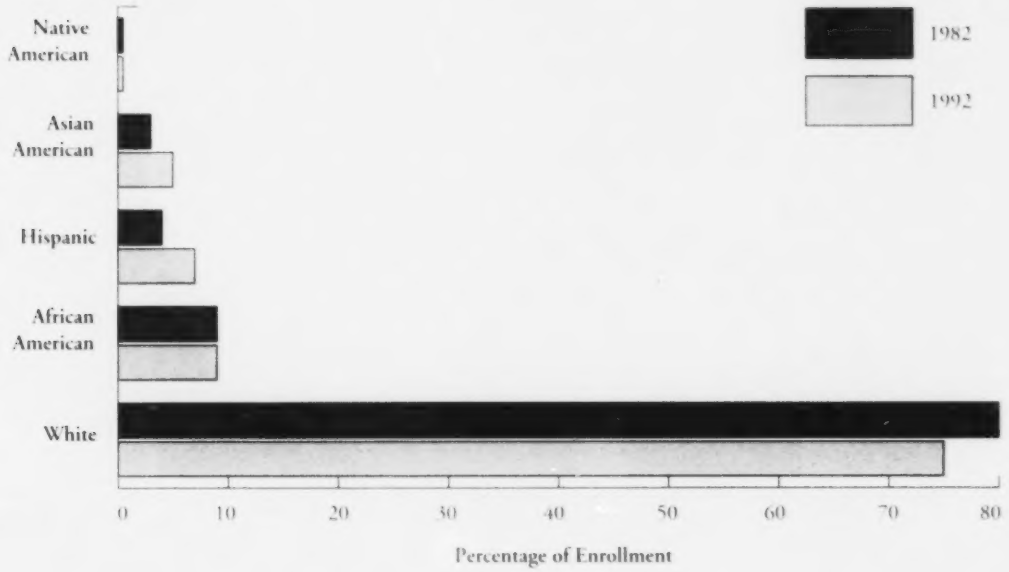
■ "Other" positions include miscellaneous white-collar occupations that do not fall into the above professional, administrative, technical, or clerical categories.

The U.S. government further classifies professionals and others into 22 occupational groups. Master's degree holders in the fields of public policy and international affairs are most frequently classified in Group GS-100: "Social Science, Psychology, and Welfare," and include such positions as economists, foreign affairs specialists, intelligence specialists, social scientists, and social workers. In other occupational groups, persons with public policy and international affairs master's degrees can also be hired as equal employment opportunity specialists, management analysts, financial managers, health systems administrators, public health advisors and analysts, public affairs specialists, trade specialists, education program specialists, and general inspection, investigation, and compliance specialists.

The "GS level" is the basic compensation plan for most federal civilian white-collar employees. The current starting salary for GS-9 positions is $28,345; for GS-10, $31,215; for GS-11, $34,295; for GS-12, $41,104; for GS-13, $48,878; for GS-14, $57,769; and for GS-15, $67,941.

Chart A

1982 and 1992: Enrollment in Higher Education

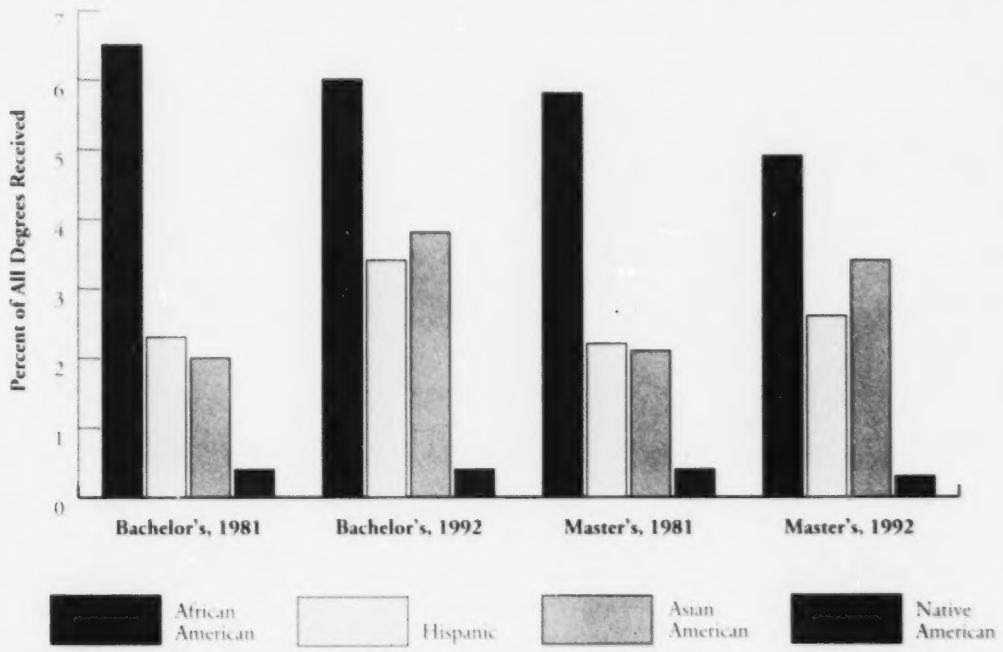


Note: Percentages do not total 100 because non-resident aliens are included in national enrollment data.

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics

Chart B

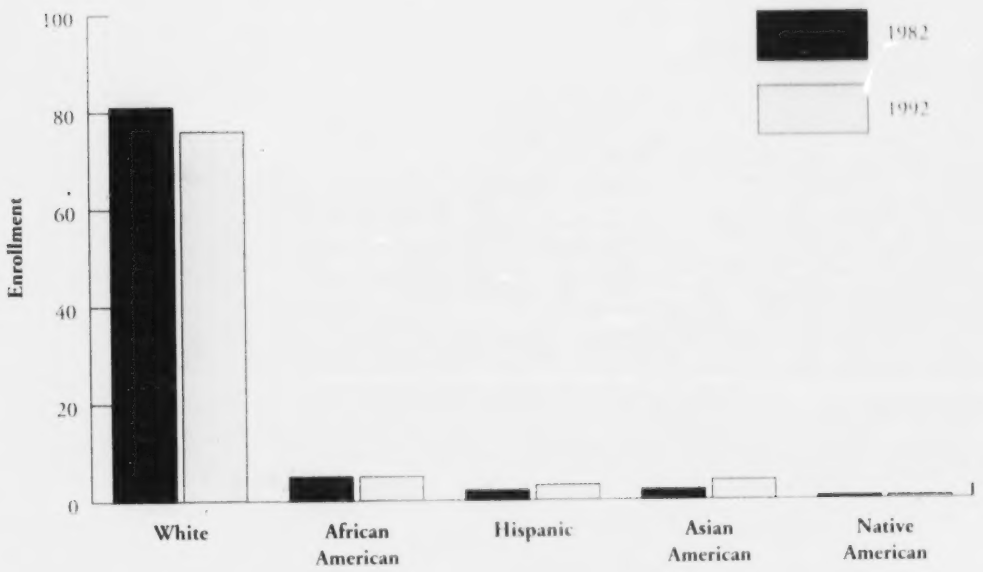
Bachelor's and Master's Degrees Conferred on Minorities



Source: U.S. Department of Education, Digest of Education Statistics, *1993; American Council on Education,* Minorities in Higher Education, *1994.*

Chart C

Enrollment in Graduate Schools, 1982 and 1992

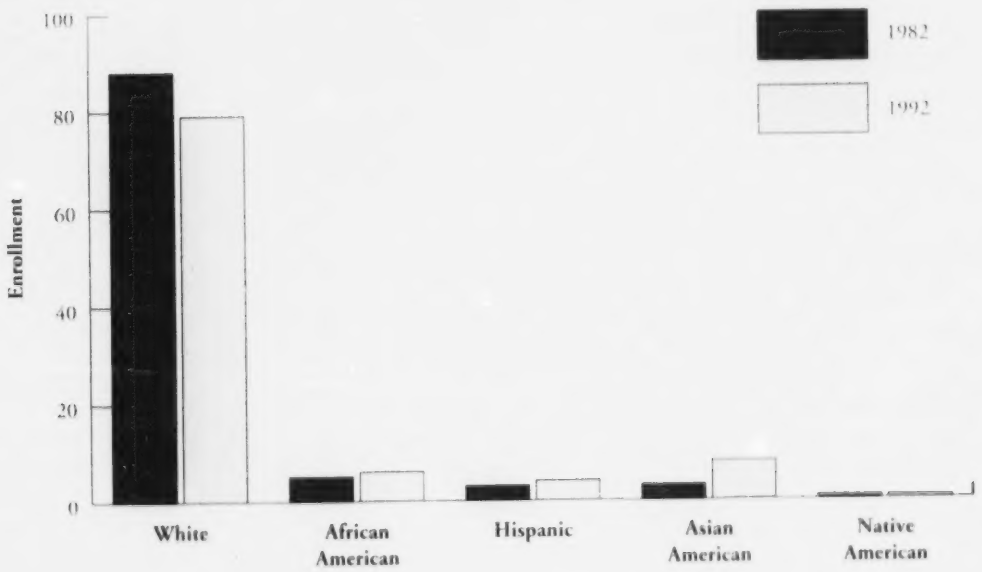


Note: Percentages do not total 100 because non-resident aliens are included in national enrollment data.

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics

Chart D

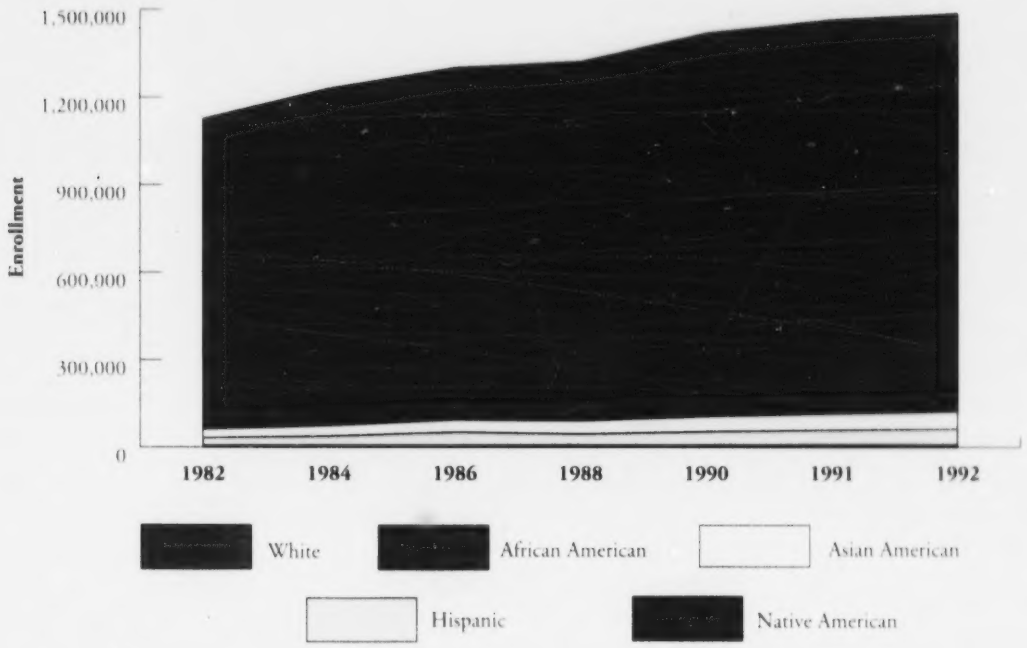
Enrollment in Professional Schools, 1982 and 1992



Note: Percentages do not total 100 because non-resident aliens are included in national enrollment data.

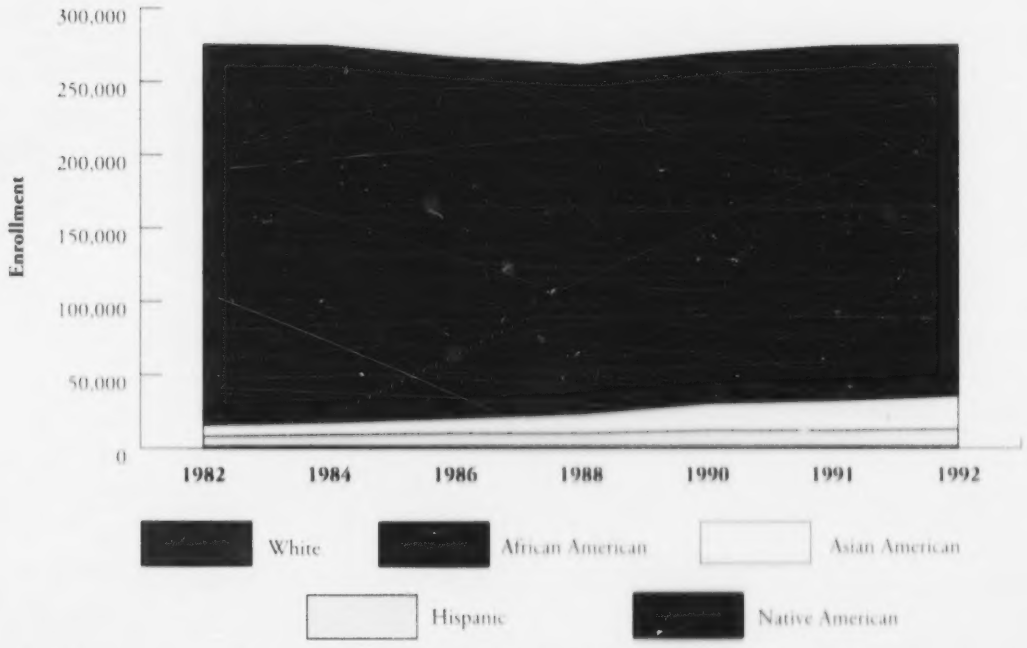
Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics

Graph I
Graduate School Enrollment, 1982–92



Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, 1994.

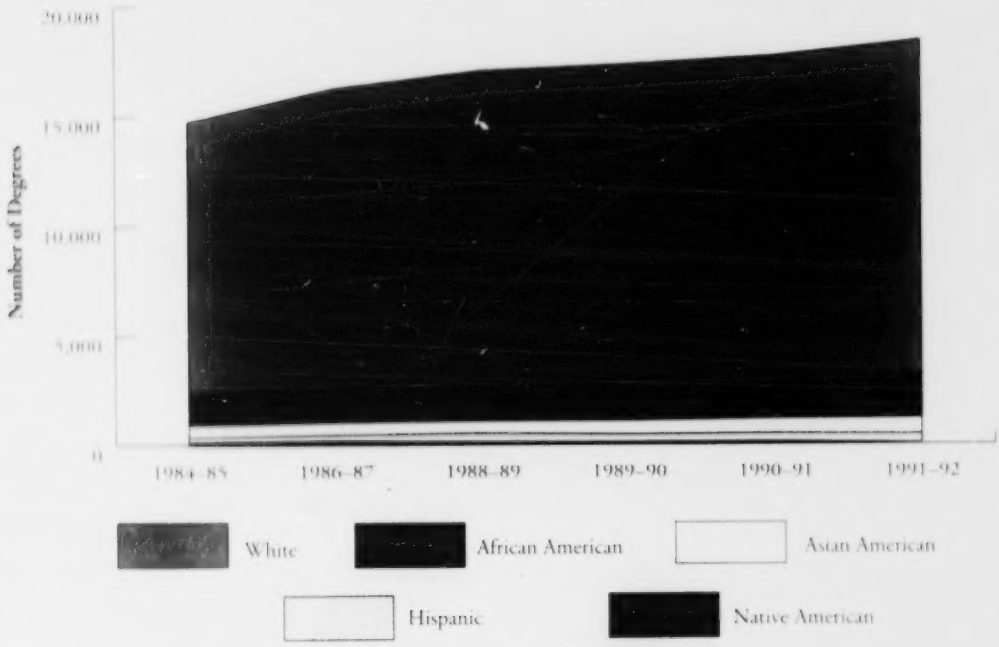
Graph II
Professional School Enrollment, 1982–92



Note: The numbers of Native Americans enrolled in professional schools, at 1,000 for each year listed, were too small to represent on this chart.
Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics

Graph III

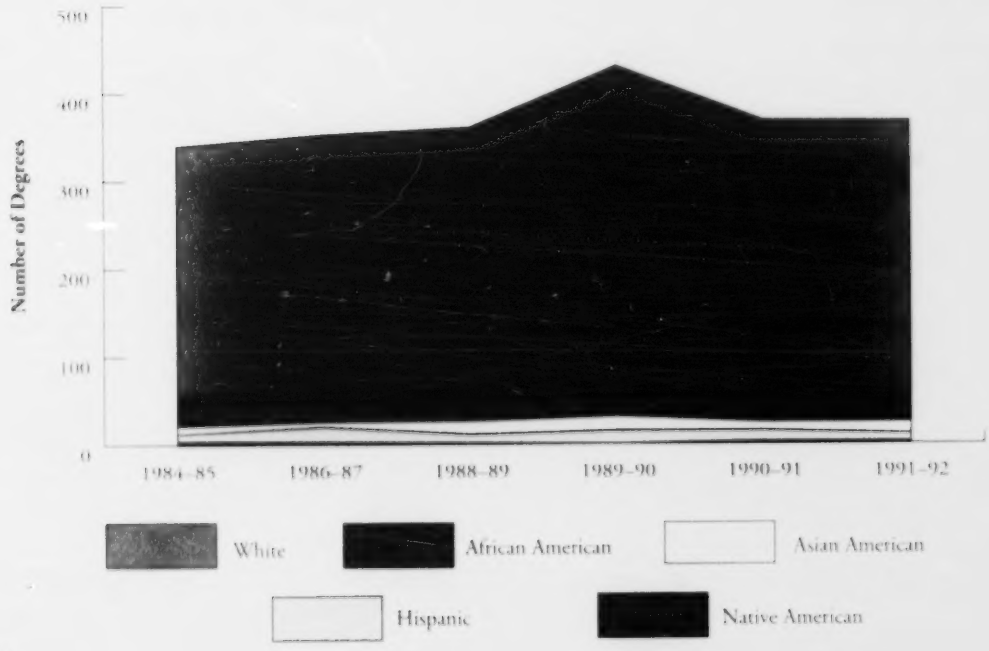
Master's Degrees Conferred in Public Affairs, 1984–92, by Race



Source: *National Center for Education Statistics,* Digest of Education Statistics, *1988, 1989, 1990, 1991, and 1993.*

Graph IV

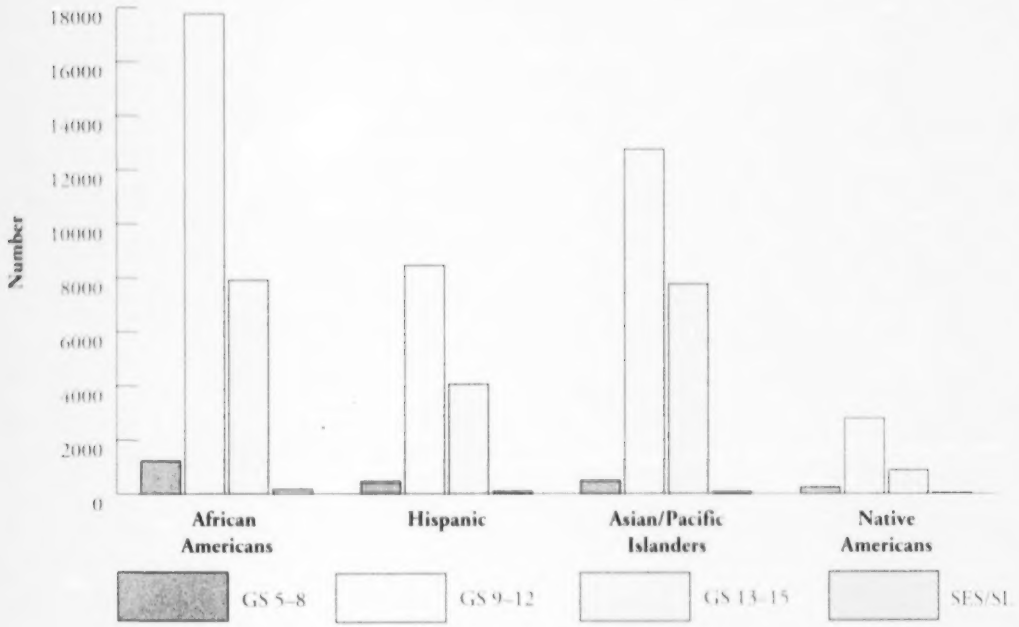
Doctorates Conferred in Public Affairs, 1984–92, by Race



Source: *National Center for Education Statistics,* Digest of Education Statistics, *1988, 1989, 1990, 1991, and 1993.*

Graph V

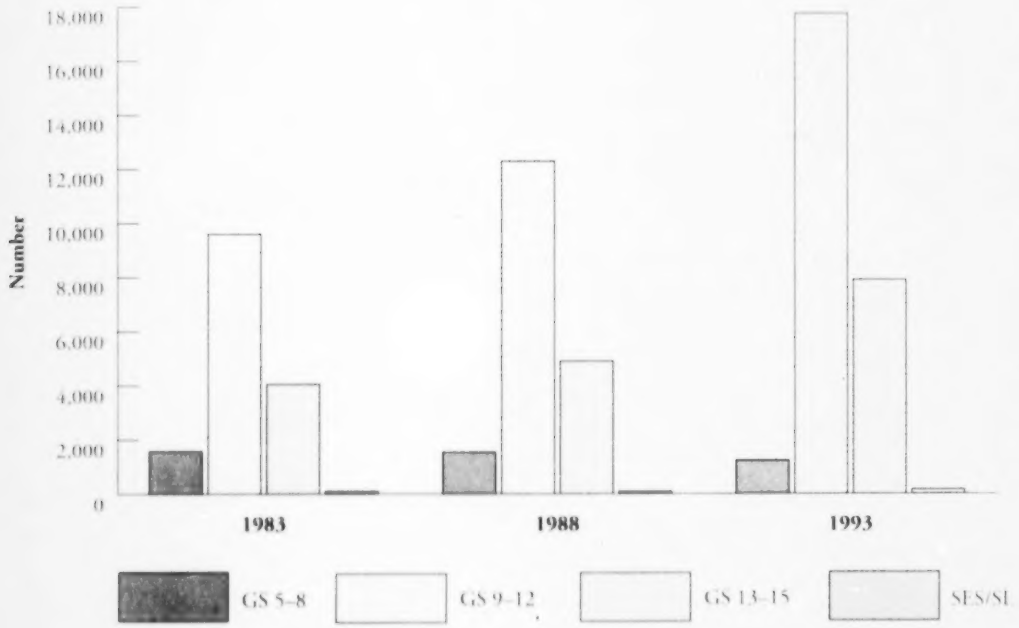
Representation of Minorities in the Federal Civilian Workforce, 1993



Source: Office of Personnel Management, Central Personnel File, September 1993.

Graph VI

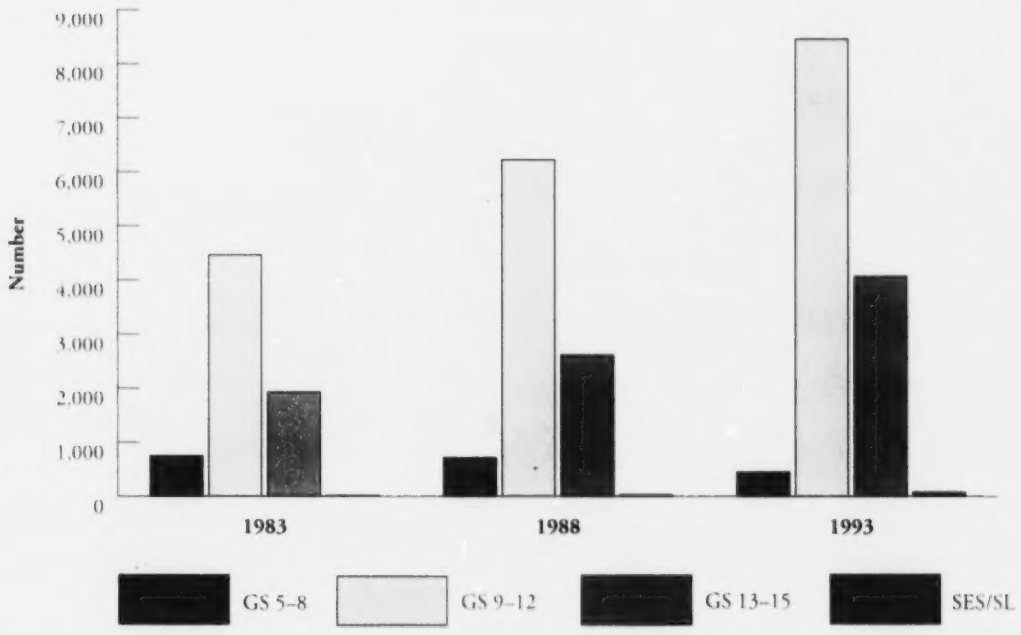
Representation of African Americans in the Federal Civilian Workforce



Source: U.S. Office of Personnel Management, Central Personnel File, September 1993.

Graph VII

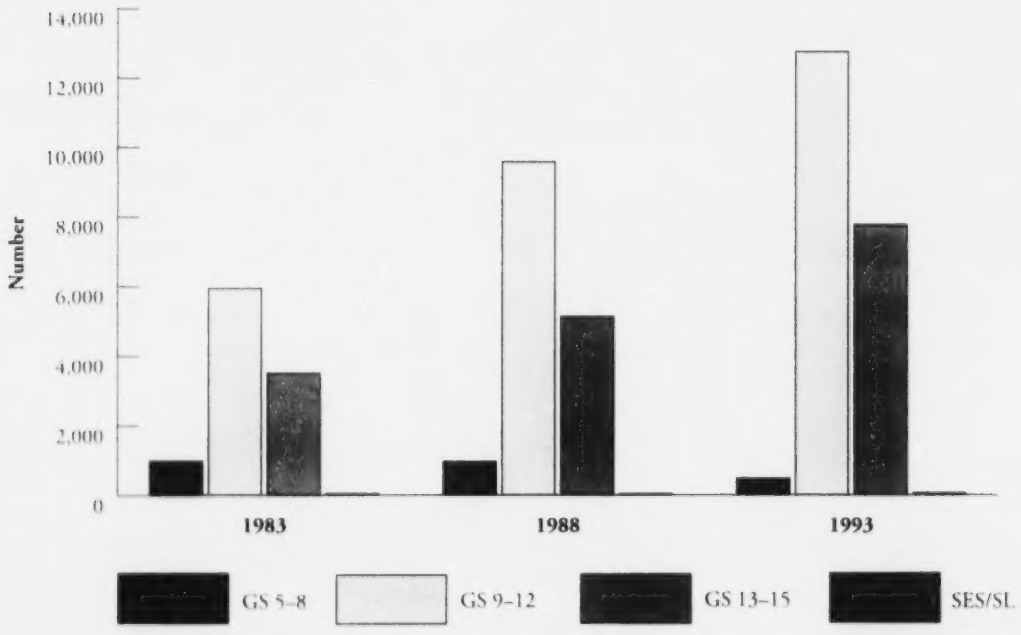
Representation of Hispanics in the Federal Civilian Workforce



Source: U.S. Office of Personnel Management, Central Personnel File, September 1993.

Graph VIII

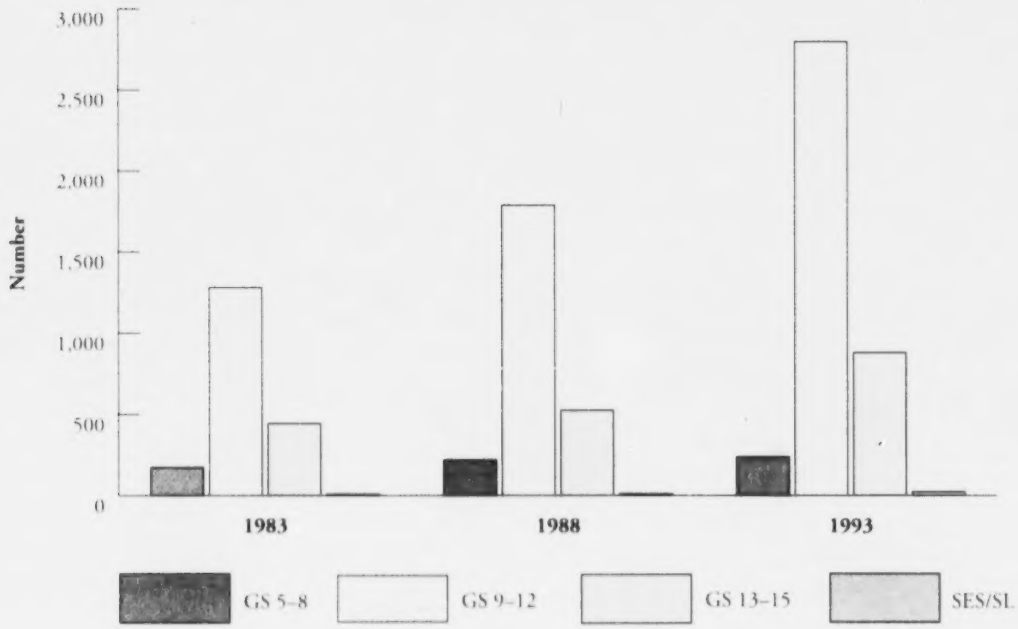
Representation of Asian/Pacific Islanders in the Federal Civilian Workforce



Source: U.S. Office of Personnel Management, Central Personnel File, September 1993.

Graph IX

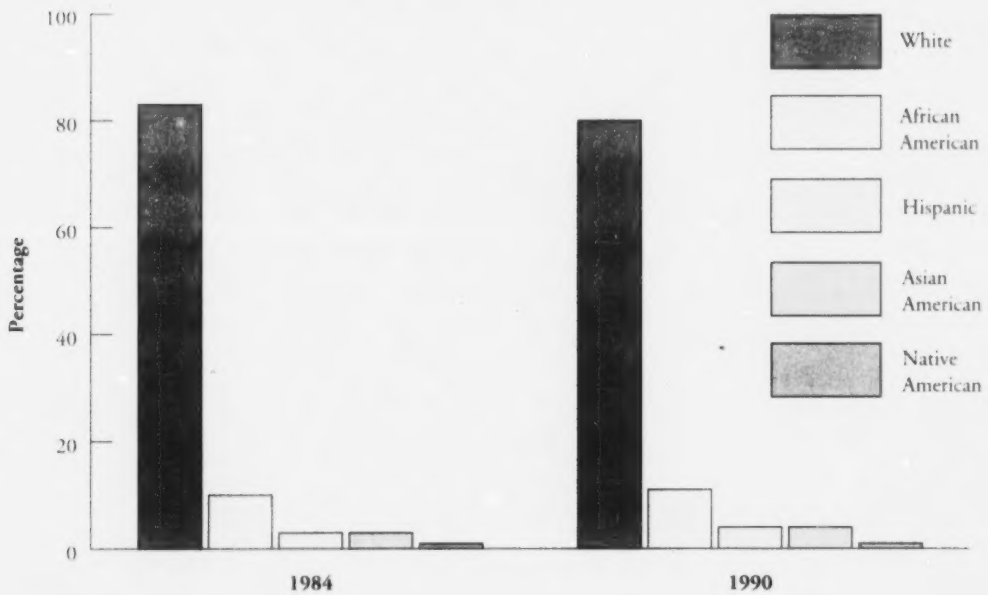
Representation of Native Americans in the Federal Civilian Workforce



Source: U.S. Office of Personnel Management, Central Personnel File, September 1993.

Graph X

Demographic Composition of Incumbents in "Key Jobs" at 25 Federal Agencies, GS–11 to GS–15



Source: U.S. Government Accounting Office

Table 1

Public Affairs Degrees Awarded, 1984–85 to 1991–92

PhDs

Race/Ethnicity	1984–85	1986–87	1988–89	1989–90	1990–91	1991–92
American Indian/Alaskan Native	3	2	1	0	2	2
Asian/Pacific Islander	9	6	16	17	10	14
Hispanic	9	18	10	15	13	9
African American	35	34	36	34	36	36
White	283	292	297	364	307	306
Total	**339**	**352**	**360**	**430**	**368**	**367**

Master's Degrees

Race/Ethnicity	1984–85	1986–87	1988–89	1989–90	1990–91	1991–92
American Indian/Alaskan Native	85	135	100	88	99	24
Asian/Pacific Islander	259	313	417	362	384	422
Hispanic	580	610	594	661	712	771
African American	1,423	1,553	1,626	1,855	1,805	2,001
White	12,374	13,645	14,337	14,392	14,739	15,232
Total	**14,721**	**16,256**	**17,074**	**17,358**	**17,739**	**18,549**

Source: National Center for Education Statistics, Digest of Education Statistics.

Table 2
Minority Representation in Selected Corporations

Company	% African American	% Hispanic	% Asian American	% Native American	% of Minorities in Total Management Pool
Allstate	14.1	5.5	2.8	0.4	19.7
American Airlines	8.6	8.1	2.7	0.4	12.5
American Express	12.6	6.3	2.9	0.5	12.9
AT&T	15.0	4.3	3.7	0.3	17.6
Ameritech	19.8	2.1	0.5	0.2	17.2
Amtrak	27.0	4.0	1.5	0.4	19.8
Anheuser-Busch	22.5*				11.5
Arco	8.3	6.0	3.9	1.4	10.7
Avis	20.0	9.5	3.6	0.5	12.5
Avon	13.0	6.0	2.0	0.5	16.0
Bell Atlantic	22.1	1.6	0.5	0.1	17.7
Borden	24.0*				n/a
Bristol-Myers	11.0	4.1	3.0	0.3	10.6
Burger King	16.2	7.5	2.1	0.2	4.5
Campbell Soup	16.4	10.0	2.8	1.1	8.4
Champion	10.8	2.4	0.4	0.8	4.4
Chevron	8.5	6.5	6.3	1.5	10.3
Chrysler	22.3	1.5	0.5	0.1	11.0
Clorox	12.1	4.2	4.8	0.4	10.2
Coca-Cola	19.9	13.0	1.5	0.4	12.8
Colgate	9.5	5.4	2.7	0.02	13.8
Coors	4.0	10.0	0.1	0.1	10.0
Corning	7.0	0.2	1.8	0.1	6.9
Dow	7.0	5.1	1.9	0.3	8.0
DuPont	9.8	1.9	1.5	0.7	10.0
Kodak	7.3	3.1	1.6	0.2	6.9
Equitable	10.8	5.8	5.6	0.1	10.1
Exxon	14.0	6.3	2.8	0.4	11.6
FedEx	24.7	5.7	2.0	0.3	18.0
Gannett	13.1	4.6	3.2	0.5	11.7
GE	7.7	21.0	1.6	0.2	6.1
General Foods	9.7	3.0	2.3	0.2	15.0
General Mills	14.2	8.0	2.2	1.3	10.9
General Motors	16.8	2.8	0.7	0.3	12.5

Table 2
Minority Representation in Selected Corporations *(continued)*

Company	% African American	% Hispanic	% Asian American	% Native American	% of Minorities in Total Management Pool
Hallmark	7.0	3.4	1.0	0.2	8.6
H-P	4.0	6.0	9.0	0.5	11.0
Hoechst					
Celanese	13.2	4.0	1.4	0.2	7.0
Honeywell	5.1	5.2	3.0	0.6	6.5
IBM	9.1	3.5	4.6	0.3	13.0
Johnson & Johnson	11.8	8.1	n/a	n/a	12.7
Kellogg	13.1	2.5	1.5	0.3	10.7
Levi Strauss	9.0	42.0	4.0	1.0	35.0
McDonald's	23.0	10.0	4.0	1.6	30.6
Marriott	21.6	16.6	5.0	0.3	14.3
MCI	15.0	4.0	4.0	1.0	14.0
Merck	10.0	3.1	3.3	0.4	10.7
Merrill Lynch	8.2	5.4	3.6	0.1	6.4
MetLife	10.2	4.4	5.3	0.5	n/a
Motorola	8.2	11.0	5.5	0.4	10.5
New York Times	10.4	3.3	1.2	0.2	8.5
NYNEX	17.1	3.3	1.5	0.1	16.4
Pacific Gas	6.4	10.9	9.8	1.3	22.6
Pfizer	8.4	6.6	6.1	0.2	10.1
Philip Morris	16.0	7.0	2.0	0.4	25.4
Polaroid	14.0	1.6	1.7	0.2	10.1
PPG	10.2	2.4	0.6	0.1	5.4
Procter & Gamble	13.6	2.7	0.2	1.2	13.0
Prudential	10.4	3.2	2.2	0.5	9.6
Quaker Oats	12.4	6.7	1.8	0.1	9.8
Ryder	9.2	6.2	1.1	0.4	10.8
Sara Lee	22.2	5.2	1.4	1.2	9.8
Sprint	12.0	2.4	1.9	0.4	11.0
3M	4.2	3.6	2.7	0.5	5.0
Time Warner	14.2	5.8	2.8	0.2	12.2
TRW	8.8	6.8	7.4	0.5	14.0
UPS	15.3	7.4	2.0	0.3	18.4
Upjohn	6.8	1.8	2.4	0.8	9.3
US West	4.8	7.9	1.5	1.0	13.4
Warner Lambert	10.5	4.5	4.0	0.3	10.0
Washington Post	18.6	4.2	3.0	0.2	19.0
Xerox	13.5	6.1	4.6	0.5	17.3

• Data not broken down by race/national origin.

Source: Graham, Lawrence Otis. The Best Companies for Minorities, New York: Penguin, 1993.

Table 3
Minority Representation at the Professional Level, 1988 and 1993

(Benchmark: 1993 Civilian Labor Force)

Federal Department	African American Men (2.4%)	African American Women (3.2%)	Hispanic Men (2.1%)	Hispanic Women (1.4%)	Asian American Men (3.5%)	Asian American Women (1.9%)	Native American Men (0.2%)	Native American Women (0.2%)
Agriculture								
1988	3.2%	1.0%	2.4%	0.4%	2.1%	0.5%	0.9%	0.1%
1993	3.4%	1.5%	2.3%	0.6%	1.9%	0.6%	1.1%	0.3%
Commerce								
1988	3.7%	3.1%	1.4%	0.4%	3.5%	1.0%	0.1%	0.1%
1993	3.4%	3.2%	1.5%	0.6%	4.7%	1.6%	0.2%	0.1%
Defense								
1988	3.0%	2.0%	2.4%	0.6%	5.2%	1.2%	0.03%	0.06%
1993	1.1%	4.0%	1.1%	0.3%	1.9%	0.7%	0.5%	0.0%
Education								
1988	7.1%	13.4%	2.6%	1.2%	1.7%	1.1%	0.04%	0.09%
1993	6.6%	15.1%	2.0%	1.8%	1.8%	1.3%	0.6%	0.2%
Energy								
1988	2.8%	1.5%	2.6%	0.5%	3.6%	0.6%	0.3%	0.1%
1993	2.6%	1.7%	3.0%	0.9%	4.7%	1.0%	0.4%	0.08%
Health and Human Services								
1988	3.7%	4.3%	1.7%	1.0%	2.3%	2.0%	1.1%	5.1%
1993	8.6%	12.7%	2.4%	1.2%	2.0%	2.0%	0.3%	0.3%
Housing and Urban Development								
1988	9.1%	7.4%	3.6%	1.2%	3.5%	1.5%	0.5%	0.2%
1993	8.4%	9.4%	3.2%	1.2%	4.0%	2.4%	0.3%	0.3%
Interior								
1988	1.1%	0.5%	1.7%	0.3%	1.6%	0.3%	2.4%	0.7%
1993	1.7%	5.2%	2.6%	3.3%	2.1%	2.9%	4.0%	10.5%
Justice								
1988	3.4%	2.7%	1.8%	0.7%	0.8%	0.3%	0.1%	0.1%
1993	4.2%	4.5%	2.3%	1.4%	0.9%	0.7%	0.4%	0.1%
Labor								
1988	4.7%	5.5%	1.8%	1.0%	1.3%	0.8%	0.2%	0.1%
1993	5.1%	6.6%	2.3%	1.2%	1.7%	1.1%	0.2%	0.1%
State								
1988	2.6%	2.0%	2.4%	1.0%	1.7%	0.8%	0.3%	0.03%
1993	3.0%	2.6%	3.0%	1.0%	2.2%	1.1%	0.2%	0.1%
Transportation								
1988	4.5%	1.9%	3.6%	0.5%	4.7%	0.5%	0.3%	0.1%
1993	4.2%	6.4%	3.8%	1.1%	5.8%	1.3%	0.6%	0.2%
Treasury								
1988	4.4%	5.6%	2.7%	1.5%	2.5%	1.9%	0.2%	0.2%
1993	4.2%	6.4%	2.6%	1.7%	2.7%	2.1%	0.2%	0.2%
Veterans Affairs								
1988	2.2%	8.4%	1.7%	2.6%	2.5%	4.7%	0.1%	0.2%
1993	2.3%	8.6%	1.9%	3.1%	2.7%	5.5%	0.3%	0.4%

Table 4
Minority Representation at Top GS and Senior Pay Levels, 1988 and 1993

Federal Department	African American GS 13–15	African American SES	Hispanic GS 13–15	Hispanic SES	Asian American GS 13–15	Asian American SES	Native American GS 13–15	Native American SES
Agriculture								
1988	4.7%	5.7%	1.5%	0.4%	2.0%	0.4%	.01%	0.4%
1993	6.5%	9.1%	2.1%	.01%	2.3%	.002%	.01%	.002%
Commerce								
1988	6.4%	2.8%	1.7%	0.8%	3.1%	2.0%	.002%	0.0%
1993	7.2%	4.6%	2.1%	0.9%	4.4%	2.2%	0.4%	0.2%
Defense								
1988	4.1%	2.2%	1.8%	.01%	2.8%	.01%	0.5%	.004%
1993	5.4%	2.7%	3.3%	1.1%	3.8%	1.0%	0.5%	0.6%
Education								
1988	18.4%	7.3%	3.1%	4.4%	1.8%	0.0%	.002%	1.5%
1993	21.8%	11.3%	3.4%	2.5%	2.3%	5.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Energy								
1988	3.8%	3.1%	2.0%	1.5%	2.2%	0.6%	.003%	0.2%
1993	3.1%	2.5%	2.4%	0.8%	3.2%	0.6%	0.5%	2.3%
Health and Human Services								
1988	9.5%	8.0%	2.5%	0.9%	3.0%	1.8%	1.7%	1.4%
1993	11.1%	9.2%	2.8%	1.7%	3.4%	1.5%	2.2%	2.3%
Housing and Urban Development								
1988	20.0%	17.8%	3.5%	0.9%	1.3%	0.9%	.01%	0.0%
1993	20.0%	17.4%	5.3%	4.8%	1.7%	0.0%	0.8%	0.0%
Interior								
1988	3.0%	2.9%	1.4%	0.7%	1.7%	0.0%	4.8%	5.1%
1993	2.6%	5.0%	1.7%	.004%	1.6%	.004%	5.0%	9.5%
Justice								
1988	7.4%	4.7%	5.4%	1.7%	.01%	0.7%	.004%	0.0%
1993	7.1%	4.4%	5.5%	3.6%	1.5%	0.8%	0.5%	0.0%
Labor								
1988	1.2%	6.1%	3.8%	2.3%	1.2%	0.0%	.003%	0.0%
1993	4.9%	8.3%	4.1%	2.2%	1.5%	0.5%	0.5%	0.0%
State								
1988	6.6%	5.6%	3.1%	0.0%	1.7%	0.9%	.003%	0.0%
1993	11.4%	2.5%	3.2%	1.7%	3.1%	0.8%	.001%	0.0%
Transportation								
1988	5.3%	6.7%	2.4%	1.3%	1.6%	1.1%	.01%	0.0%
1993	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Treasury								
1988	6.7%	4.8%	2.6%	1.2%	2.0%	0.6%	.003%	0.2%
1993	8.9%	5.4%	3.5%	1.4%	2.6%	0.6%	.04%	0.3%
Veterans Affairs								
1988	4.8%	5.1%	3.9%	1.3%	9.2%	0.6%	.002%	0.6%
1993	4.8%	5.7%	4.2%	1.2%	9.5%	0.6%	0.3%	1.9%

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Table 5
Workforce Parity Projection for African American Men

(Benchmark: 5.2% of 1993 Civilian Labor Force)

Federal Department	% in 1988 Workforce	% in 1993 Workforce	Annualized Growth Rate (or Decline)	Parity Year @ Growth Rate
Agriculture	3.3	3.4	0.60	2064
Commerce	5.5	5.2	(1.12)	Parity Reached
Defense	7.2	7.1	(0.28)	Parity Reached
Education	8.9	8.6	(0.69)	Parity Reached
Energy	3.5	9.7	1.11	2024
Health and Human Services	5.0	4.9	(0.40)	1998*
Housing and Urban Development	8.4	8.1	(0.73)	Parity Reached
Interior	2.7	2.8	0.73	2078
Justice	5.9	6.4	1.63	Parity Reached
Labor	6.5	6.2	(0.95)	Parity Reached
State	5.3	4.7	(2.40)	2002*
Transportation	5.2	5.2	0.00	Parity Reached
Treasury	5.7	5.6	(0.35)	Parity Reached
Veterans Affairs	9.2	8.9	(0.66)	Parity Reached
Average (all departments)	5.9	5.8	(0.25)	
Average (positive growth only)			1.02	
Median	5.6	5.4	(0.38)	

**Because minority group representation actually declined or showed no change between 1988 and 1993, the "parity" year was estimated by using the average growth rate of all departments where there was an increase over this five-year period.*

Table 6

Workforce Parity Projection for African American Women

(Benchmark: 5.3% of 1993 Civilian Labor Force)

Federal Department	% in 1988 Workforce	% in 1993 Workforce	Annualized Growth Rate (or Decline)	Parity Year @ Growth Rate
Agriculture	4.6	5.6	3.93	Parity Reached
Commerce	13.0	12.0	(1.60)	Parity Reached
Defense	7.0	7.6	1.64	Parity Reached
Education	29.9	30.0	0.07	Parity Reached
Energy	8.2	8.2	0.00	Parity Reached
Health and Human Services	18.2	17.8	(0.44)	Parity Reached
Housing and Urban Development	22.4	23.0	0.53	Parity Reached
Interior	2.4	2.7	2.36	2022
Justice	11.4	10.6	(1.46)	Parity Reached
Labor	17.3	17.8	0.57	Parity Reached
State	11.2	11.0	(0.36)	Parity Reached
Transportation	5.4	6.1	2.44	Parity Reached
Treasury	16.1	15.4	(0.89)	Parity Reached
Veterans Affairs	14.2	13.8	(0.57)	Parity Reached
Average (all departments)	13.0	13.0	(0.44)	
Average (positive growth only)			1.65	
Median	12.2	11.5	(0.03)	

Table 7
Workforce Parity Projection for Hispanic Men

(Benchmark: 5.50% of 1993 Civilian Labor Force)

Federal Department	% in 1988 Workforce	% in 1993 Workforce	Annualized Growth Rate (or Decline)	Parity Year @ Growth Rate
Agriculture	2.9	3.2	1.97	2021
Commerce	1.5	1.5	0.00	2045*
Defense	3.7	3.7	0.00	2008*
Education	1.7	1.6	(1.21)	2042*
Energy	2.6	2.5	(0.78)	2024*
Health and Human Services	1.4	1.5	1.38	2087
Housing and Urban Development	2.4	2.6	1.60	2040
Interior	2.1	2.3	1.82	2041
Justice	6.2	7.0	2.43	Parity Reached
Labor	2.5	1.6	(8.93)	2042*
State	2.1	2.1	0.00	2031*
Transportation	2.5	3.1	4.30	2006
Treasury	2.5	3.2	4.94	2004
Veterans Affairs	2.7	2.9	1.43	2038
Average (all departments)	2.6	2.8	0.64	
Average (positive growth only)			2.48	
Median	2.5	2.6	1.40	

**Because minority group representation actually declined or showed no change between 1988 and 1993, the "parity" year was estimated by using the average growth rate of all departments where there was an increase over this five-year period.*

Table 8
Workforce Parity Projection for Hispanic Women

(Benchmark: 3.50% of 1993 Civilian Labor Force)

Federal Department	% in 1988 Workforce	% in 1993 Workforce	Annualized Growth Rate (or Decline)	Parity Year @ Growth Rate
Agriculture	1.5	1.9	4.73	2006
Commerce	1.2	1.4	3.08	2023
Defense	1.8	2.0	2.11	2020
Education	1.5	2.0	5.75	2003
Energy	1.9	2.3	3.82	2004
Health and Human Services	3.1	3.3	1.25	1998
Housing and Urban Development	3.2	9.9	3.96	2012
Interior	1.4.	1.7	3.88	1998
Justice	3.1	3.3	1.25	2003
Labor	2.1	2.5	3.49	2003
State	1.6	2.0	5.75	2022
Transportation	1.0	1.2	3.65	Parity Reached
Treasury	3.8	3.9	0.52	Parity Reached
Veterans Affairs	2.2	2.5	2.56	2006
Average (all departments)	2.1	2.4	3.27	
Average (positive growth only)			3.27	
Median	1.9	2.2	3.57	

Table 9
Workforce Parity Projection for Asian American Men

(Benchmark: 1.60% of 1993 Civilian Labor Force)

Federal Department	% in 1988 Workforce	% in 1993 Workforce	Annualized Growth Rate (or Decline)	Parity Year @ Growth Rate
Agriculture	0.9	1.1	4.01	2002
Commerce	1.9	2.4	4.67	Parity Reached
Defense	2.8	3.3	3.29	Parity Reached
Education	1.1	1.3	3.34	1999
Energy	1.5	2.1	6.73	Parity Reached
Health and Human Services	1.0	1.2	3.65	2001
Housing and Urban Development	1.0	1.2	3.65	2001
Interior	0.7	0.7	0.00	2010*
Justice	0.9	1.2	5.75	1998
Labor	0.7	1.0	7.13	2000
State	1.1	1.4	4.82	1996
Transportation	1.5	1.8	3.65	Parity Reached
Treasury	1.1	1.4	4.82	1996
Veterans Affairs	1.8	2.4	5.75	Parity Reached
Average (all departments)	1.3	1.6	4.38	
Average (positive growth only)			4.71	
Median	1.1	1.4	4.34	

**Because minority group representation actually declined or showed no change between 1988 and 1993, the "parity" year was estimated by using the average growth rate of all departments where there was an increase over this five-year period.*

Table 10
Workforce Parity Projection for Asian American Women

(Benchmark: 1.30% of 1993 Civilian Labor Force)

Federal Department	% in 1988 Workforce	% in 1993 Workforce	Annualized Growth Rate (or Decline)	Parity Year @ Growth Rate
Agriculture	0.6	0.8	5.75	2001
Commerce	0.8	1.3	9.71	Parity Reached
Defense	1.4	1.7	3.88	Parity Reached
Education	1.0	1.4	6.73	Parity Reached
Energy	0.8	1.1	6.37	1996
Health and Human Services	1.2	1.6	5.75	Parity Reached
Housing and Urban Development	1.5	1.6	1.29	Parity Reached
Interior	0.5	0.6	3.65	2014
Justice	0.7	1.0	7.13	1997
Labor	1.0	1.2	3.65	1995
State	1.4	1.7	3.88	Parity Reached
Transportation	0.4	0.7	11.19	1999
Treasury	1.2	1.5	4.46	Parity Reached
Veterans Affairs	2.2	2.8	4.82	Parity Reached
Average (all departments)	1.1	1.4	5.59	
Average (positive growth only)			5.59	
Median	1.0	1.4	5.29	

Table 11
Workforce Parity Projection for Native American Men

(Benchmark: .40% of 1993 Civilian Labor Force)

Federal Department	% in 1988 Workforce	% in 1993 Workforce	Annualized Growth Rate (or Decline)	Parity Year @ Growth Rate
Agriculture	1.3	1.5	2.86	Parity Reached
Commerce	0.2	0.3	8.11	1997
Defense	0.5	0.6	3.65	Parity Reached
Education	0.4	0.4	0.00	Parity Reached
Energy	0.8	0.7	(2.67)	Parity Reached
Health and Human Services	2.0	2.3	2.8	Parity Reached
Housing and Urban Development	0.4	0.3	(5.75)	1998*
Interior	9.4	8.5	(2.01)	Parity Reached
Justice	0.4	0.3	(5.75)	1998*
Labor	0.3	0.3	0.00	1998*
State	0.3	0.2	(8.11)	2005*
Transportation	0.7	1.0	7.13	Parity Reached
Treasury	0.2	0.3	8.11	1997
Veterans Affairs	0.3	0.3	0.11	1996*
Average (all departments)	1.2	1.2	0.60	
Average (positive growth only)			5.44	
Median	0.4	0.4	0.00	

**Because minority group representation actually declined or showed no change between 1988 and 1993, the "parity" year was estimated by using the average growth rate of all departments where there was an increase over this five-year period.*

Table 12
Workforce Parity Projection for Native American Women

(Benchmark: .30% of 1993 Civilian Labor Force)

Federal Department	% in 1988 Workforce	% in 1993 Workforce	Annualized Growth Rate (or Decline)	Parity Year @ Growth Rate
Agriculture	0.8	1.0	4.46	Parity Reached
Commerce	0.2	0.2	0.00	2000*
Defense	0.3	0.3	0.00	Parity Reached
Education	0.4	0.5	4.46	Parity Reached
Energy	0.4	0.5	4.46	Parity Reached
Health and Human Services	5.0	6.0	3.65	Parity Reached
Housing and Urban Development	0.6	0.73	3.08	Parity Reached
Interior	8.1	7.7	(1.01)	Parity Reached
Justice	0.1	0.2	13.86	1996
Labor	0.3	0.3	0.00	Parity Reached
State	0.2	0.2	0.00	2000*
Transportation	0.3	0.4	5.75	Parity Reached
Treasury	0.3	0.4	5.75	Parity Reached
Veterans Affairs	0.3	0.4	5.75	Parity Reached
Average (all departments)	1.2	1.3	3.59	
Average (positive growth only)			5.69	
Median	0.3	0.4	4.05	

**Because minority group representation actually declined or showed no change between 1988 and 1993, the "parity" year was estimated by using the average growth rate of all departments where there was an increase over this five-year period.*

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